

Kristine Zialian
CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF
EUROPEANISATION?
Karelia ENPI CBC 2007-2013 and tourism cooperation

University of Tampere
School of Management
Cross-Border University
International Relations
Master's Thesis
Winter 2015

University of Tampere

School of Management

ZIALIAN, KRISTINE ARSENOVNA: Cross-Border Cooperation as an Instrument of Europeanisation. Karelia ENPI CBC 2007-2013 and tourism cooperation

Master's Thesis, 78 pages + 4 pages of Appendices

Cross-Border University / International Relations

Winter 2015

Implementation of the projects within Karelia ENPI CBC 2007-2013 has come to its end; however, the new programme under European Neighbourhood Instrument is to be launched in 2016. The research presents a study of Europeanisation of the Republic of Karelia through the programme of cross-border cooperation. External dimension of Europeanisation is studied in the context of a Russian region, the Republic of Karelia. Thus, Europeanisation is approached here as transfer of EU norms, values and practices to non-member countries. These principles of the EU are determined by analysis of documents on its policy towards neighbouring countries and present EU external governance.

Activities of civil society organisations, mainly NGOs, within the programme contribute to cross-border cooperation. Cross-border cooperation and its programmes trigger activities and offer new opportunities for border regions, which to some extent contribute to Europeanisation through transfer of policy styles, norms and identities. It can partly be explained by the non-obligatory nature of policies within CBC in relation to civil society organisations in the border regions.

Members of Russian NGOs involved into implementation of tourism projects were interviewed. Analysis of interviews contributed to gaining better understanding of potential adopting of European norms and practices through interaction and exchange of experience.

In the research the necessity of the EU to europeanise neighbouring countries is explained as strengthening the EU position as a regional power and providing safety and stability near its border.

In the Master's thesis I conclude that cross-border cooperation can be viewed as an instrument of Europeanisation but with the limitation of transfer of technological aspects of tourism development: logistics, managements rules, infrastructure, etc.

Keywords: cross-border cooperation, Russia, the Republic of Karelia, Finnish-Russian relations, European Neighborhood Policy (Instrument), Europeanisation, social learning model, constructivism.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Why to study Europeanisation and Karelia ENPI CBC?

Providing security and stability across the border is one of the major objectives of the European Union within its external policy, which can be achieved by democratization and economic development of neighbouring countries.¹

In the Master's thesis neighbourhood is understood as an area, "where the EU exerts transformative power beyond its borders"². By means of Europeanisation the EU aims to disseminate its liberal values, norms and practices among non-member countries. Cross-border cooperation is seen as an informal channel of transfer of the above-mentioned elements of European identity, where civil society organizations are the major contributors. Russia is not the EU partner-country in European Neighbourhood Policy. However, it is involved into joint programmes of cross-border cooperation within ENPI and its Strategic Partnership with the EU. The road map of common economic space considers increase of importance of CBC through active support of various initiatives and CBC programmes.

My Master's thesis addresses the question of external Europeanisation of cross-border regions, and focuses on the case of the Republic of Karelia and ENP CBC projects in the field of tourism. Europeanisation has been defined as "processes of (a) construction (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies"³. Within its external dimension it is interpreted as processes incorporated to third (neighboring) countries. The thesis examines whether implementation of joint projects within ENPI contributes to transfer of particular European norms, values and rules along with social and economic development of neighbouring countries.

There is plenty of research on Europeanisation, but almost all of them are devoted to the influence of European values and norms either on EU-members or candidate countries. Few deals with neighbouring countries, which have no perspective of joining the EU in near future. Some researchers argue that Europeanisation is

¹ ENPI Cross-border Cooperation Strategy Paper 2007-2013. Indicative programme 2007-2010, 4, 15

² Scott and Liikanen, 2010, 424

³ Radaelli, 2003, 30

reflected in the external governance of the EU implemented in the form of cross-border cooperation⁴. There are only few studies on Europeanisation in Post-Soviet Russia. Aleksey Tyazhov evaluates the efficiency of this process. The EU policy regarding Russia is often under critics of the latter, mainly it is explained by absence of common and clear understanding of strategic objectives of cooperation. Tyazhov argues that Europeanisation of Russia on the federal level of cooperation is considered inefficient mainly due to absence of democracy, super-presidential governance and officials and institutions, which exercise their power of veto against many decisions, important for socialization process.⁵ My research plans to fill this gap in Europeanisation studies and study the aspects of external dimension of Europeanisation in the context of a Russian cross-border region - the Republic of Karelia, i.e. on the regional level, and not on the federal level, as Tyazhov did in his study.

In addition to this research gap, it is utmost important to study EU-Russia relations in the current situation. As to Russian identity vis-a-vis Europe, there have always been different interpretations of the role of Europe in Russia's identity construction. For example, some scholars have argued that regardless of its geographical position Russia is not part of Europe. This has to do with Russia's political system or economic structure. On the other hand, Russia might refer to itself as a European country and represent itself as 'promoter' of European culture⁶. In fact, in Russia the EU was perceived positively before the EU critics on Russian policy towards Crimea, and Ukraine as a whole⁷. In 2015 the EU is perceived negatively, and for example, majority of Russians do not want to live or study and work in the EU countries. In comparison to the year of 2014 the number of respondents, who distance themselves from European identity, has increased. Moreover, only 10% refer themselves as a person of European culture.⁸

As its self-identification Russia refers to Europe to a less extent and it seems that it rather perceives the EU as a competitor, or even as a geopolitical and ideological rival.

In February 2015, Mrs. Lavrov delivered a speech in Munich:

⁴ Khasson 2013 and Boman 2006

⁵ Tyazhov 2008, 355

⁶ Baranovskiy and Utkin 2012, 64.

⁷ UK Select Committee report, 2015

⁸ Levada polls 2015

“...the last year’s developments confirmed the correctness of our warnings against profound, systemic problems in the organisation of European security and international relations in general...The strategic partnership of Russia and the European Union failed the test of strength, as the EU chose a path of confrontation over the development of mutually beneficial interaction mechanisms”⁹

In this light one can clearly see that the EU-Russia relations have worsened due to the Ukraine crisis. In these circumstances, the EU-Russia cross-border cooperation acquires more value. Thus, one can argue that local actions taken on the regional level in cross-border territories may serve as an option for maintaining touristic, cultural and social ties.

Studying Europeanisation in the context of cross-border cooperation between Finland, a EU country, and Russia is important because as it is stated in CBC ENPI Strategy “the long experience of CBC between Russia and Finland has served as a model for the development of CBC operations elsewhere”¹⁰. Finnish-Russia relations are based on common history, geographic proximity and long common border.

Nowadays more than 100 euroregions and similar structures operate in cross-border regions of the European countries¹¹. Euroregion ‘Karelia’ was created among the first ones. It is important to mention that Euroregion Karelia is the first Euroregion region of the EU and Russia in terms of land border, established in 2000 by the Regional Councils of Northern Ostrobothnia, Kainuu and North Karelia (Finland) and by the Republic of Karelia (Russia). Euroregion Karelia Neighbourhood Programme gave first time a possibility to finance activities by both sides, not only by Finland. Euroregion Karelia is aimed at enhancement of living standards in the involved cross-border regions. This idea was initially proposed by the Government of the Republic of Karelia, then supported by Finnish partners and implemented.

Karelia ENPI CBC 2007-2013 is topical as to the present time project implementation has come to its end and final reports on projects of the programme are already made and submitted to the central authority body of ENPI CBC. In this connection, it becomes necessary to study programme’s initial principles and

⁹ Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov delivers a speech and answers questions during debates at the 51st Munich Security Conference, Munich, February 7, 2015

¹⁰ ENPI Cross-border Cooperation Strategy Paper 2007-2013. Indicative programme 2007-2010, 6

¹¹ Euroregion ‘Karelia’

particularities and learn perceptions of those representatives or organizations directly involved in the implementation process.

The research has certain limitations as it considers the period of the programme 2007 – 2013, thus, the problem of Ukraine and the current state of EU-Russian relations due to sanctions is not taken into close consideration. However, it sheds light on how cooperation has been perceived by the Russian side in 2014. The fact that regardless of many projects of civil society cooperation were closed either due to Russian legislation of “foreign agents” or the sanctions, the ENPI programme has been renovated to ENI and all documentation procedures have been already agreed on. In these circumstances, the recent political events and worsening of the EU-Russia relations did not affect the cross-border cooperation programme with the Republic of Karelia. By contrast, the current state of international politics contributes to the topicality of the issue of ongoing EU-Russia CBC. It confirms that despite of EU-Russia political disagreements over the issue of Ukraine and Syria, European foreign policy still follows its direction of maintaining CBC with Russia on regional level and Russian authorities do not oppose this. . Despite the discussions on the termination of the ENPI CBC programme and cutting off financing for 2014 period, and the EU sanctions, a new financing instrument for Russian-European CBC ENI will be launched in 2016¹². It may make one believe that cross-border cooperation is highly important direction within the EU external policy not only on the level of documents and statements but also in practice.

1.2 Research Questions, Methodology and Data

The research contributes to the studies of Europeanisation process in relation to the neighbouring third states. In particular it considers that cross-border cooperation and its programmes launched by the EU within its external policy may trigger this process. The purpose of the study is to find out whether in a particular case of Finnish-Russian cooperation within Karelia ENPI CBC 2007-2013 one would have to argue that CBC contributes to Europeanisation.

I approach the research question by focusing on tourism projects within the considered CBC programme. Tourism is an important field in cross-border

¹² ES vydelit 200 mln evro na prigranuchnoe sotrudnichestvo s RF do 2020 g. (EU is to provide 200 million euros to cross-border cooperation with the RF until 2020)

cooperation. For example, tourism is mentioned as one of the most prioritized aspects in the Strategy of social and economic development of the Republic of Karelia ¹³. Within the field of tourism cooperation eleven joint projects were approved for implementation with participation of over forty various organisations, including local authorities, institutions and NGOs.

The research is conducted under the prism of constructivism, which postulates that perceptions of actors are an important element in the construction of international politics. Constructivists define Europeanisation as internalization of EU norms, values and standards by the way of socialisation. Such a socialisation mechanism is better explained through Social Learning Model of Sedelmeier and Schimmelfennig.¹⁴

The first body of my primary data is made up by EU official documents on ENP and cross-border cooperation with Russia. Analysing them contributes to understanding how the EU identifies its core values, norms and ways of dealing with security issues, i.e. what the values or practices that the EU would want to transfer to Russia are. I have gathered the second body of my primary data by interviewing experts who have been directly involved in the process of EU-Russia cross-border cooperation. Interviews are an appropriate method of gathering data also within constructivist approach. Interviews are a way to study personal experience and perceptions of experts of cross-border cooperation. Thus, interviewees share their perceptions on exchange of experience and interaction with Finnish colleagues. Analysis of data received from interviews helps to understand if the Russian regional organisations (civil society organisations) adopt Finnish practices. As to my method I employ content analysis, which is applied both to interviews and documents.

My research question is formulated as follows:

Does Karelia ENPI CBC programme contribute to Europeanisation of the Republic of Karelia?

The following sub-questions specify it:

- What does the EU promote through CBC with its neighbouring countries?
- Is the Republic of Karelia a good region-recipient of European values and standards?
- How do tourism projects and CSOs cooperation contribute to the process of Europeanisation of the Republic of Karelia?

¹³ Strategy of Social and Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia up to 2020

¹⁴ Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005, 18

It is important to emphasize that this is a case study and we cannot necessarily generalize from case studies. Therefore, I cannot claim that I would be able to find out whether CBC may serve an instrument of Europeanisation for all countries. To be able to answer to that kind of question would require many more case studies that would focus on other partner countries of the EU. In addition, I do not regard Europeanisation as “fit one size” as it depends on the priorities declared in each particular programme of CBC and the country partner. Thus, in my case of Karelian programme the priorities cover only economic development and well-being, and does not imply any projects oriented on human rights or implementing the free elections principles. Therefore, I cannot argue that the particular case of Karelia ENPI CBC and its tourism projects fits all the cross-border cooperation programmes of other EU partners within ENP.

Based on analysis of previous literature on the related topic, the hypothesis will be made and then applied in the section of interview analysis. Thus, I assume that **Europeanisation beyond the EU is effective through cross-border cooperation of civil society organizations.**

Neighbouring states may differ in their attitudes and policies towards and perceptions of the EU policy and its perception of principles of proper governing. Thus, it would be difficult to judge whether CBC drives the Europeanisation of all neighbouring countries or not. The purpose is to study a case study - CBC between the EU and Russia through the programme implementation of Karelia ENPI CBC. Even if the case study cannot be generalized, this Master's thesis should be understood as a contribution to understanding the extent of EU influence (neither negative nor positive) on border regions of its, probably, the most important neighbor – Russia.

In the following chapters I will first discuss my theoretical framework: constructivism, the concept of Europeanisation and the so-called social learning model. The concept of Europeanisation is discussed in order to reveal its existing dimensions and explain which one directly correlates to the research question. Previous research on this issue will be reflected as background of my own findings and it constitutes a hypothesis, which I further test in the interview analysis section. Moreover, I will present the analysis of basic official documents constituting ENP in order to determine those EU ideas to be transferred through cross-border cooperation.

Then, I will present the interview findings and apply theoretical assumption in practical dimension, revealed by personal experience of the managers and coordinators of joint ENPI CBC tourism projects. Finally, I will summarize my findings to address the research question.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Constructivism in International Relations

In the following part I draw the assumptions of constructivism and then explain, how they are reflected in the issue of transfer of ideas through cross-border cooperation. In the framework of constructivism I focus on studying the possible transfer of European norms and values, namely the process of Europeanisation (see section 2.2.), implemented through the ENPI programme and particularly interested in joint projects, where interactions of cross-border partners are seen as a possible channel of Europeanisation process.

Traditionally, in the field of international relations, constructivism is considered as critical to realism, which does not consider the role of such aspects of soft security as culture, traditions and religion important in international politics¹⁵. Representatives of constructivism do not reject the statement of realists that any state follows its interests, but criticize viewing these interests only through the prism of material situation. Constructivists argue, that social interactions shape the interests and identities of the states, not only their behaviors¹⁶.

Alexander Wendt is one of the most significant representatives of constructivist approach in international relations. In Wendt's understanding, states as actors of international relations are created by human perceptions and thus, they present social rather than material. According to two tenets of the social theory, which he formulated, "structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature".¹⁷

The concept of identity in international politics is explained by Wendt as a subjective term, which depends on how the actor perceives himself; but in the same time it depends on perception of other actors. Thus, if these two understandings coincide, then the identity is formed.¹⁸ Applying to the case of the EU cross-border cooperation within the research question, the EU programmes are useful and contribute to social and economic development of partner countries, if both Finland and the Republic of Karelia admit it.

¹⁵ Morgenthau 1948, Carr 1946, Mearsheimer 1994

¹⁶ Onuf 1989, Wendt 1999, Ruggie 1998, Kratochwill 1989

¹⁷ Wendt 1999, 1

¹⁸ Ibid., 224

In other words, constructivists interpret identities and interests through the prism of ideas, values and objects, which meanings are given by social interaction. So, identities and interests depend on one's understanding. To give an example of constructivism approach in use and illustrate this particular assumption, I refer to Martha Finnemore's study on involvement of international institutions and organisations. The author views three cases of constructing the interests: establishment of science bureaucracies in states (under the UNESCO), the Red Cross activities in Geneva Conventions and how the World Bank forms perception of different countries to poverty issue¹⁹. She investigates the connection of perception forming of actors to national interests and behavior²⁰. Examining an international structure of social values, Finnemore studies those interests and behavior and draws on a systematic approach, concluding that interests are formed via social interaction²¹. Studying of those cases exemplify the constructivists view on identities and interests, they are central for defining the actions of states and contribute to understanding the facts in the international system.

Constructivists consider that the structure of international politics is created of social relationships, constructed by such components as shared knowledge, expectations and practices, and thus presents the sociological structuralism²². In the framework of international relations Checkel defines construction as "a process of interaction between agents (individuals, states, non-state actors) and the structures of their broader environment"²³. In other words, such a construction is conditioned by interaction between agents and particular structures.

According to Zehfuss in the social world, which is seen, as construed states define and interpret the existing practice themselves and their identities may change. Constructivism contributes to better understanding of international relations by the way that it considers the norms, which influence international practice.²⁴

In its more poststructural extent constructivism is thoroughly discussed in the works of Friedrich Kratochwil, where he discusses the role of rules, norms and values for understanding behaviour and actions in international relations.²⁵ Kratochwil is

¹⁹ Finnemore 1996

²⁰ Ibid., 2

²¹ Ibid, 6

²² Wendt 1995, 73

²³ Checkel 2008, 72

²⁴ Zehfuss 2002, 4

²⁵ Kratochwil 1989, Kratochwil 2011

concerned with explaining why the actors address to norms. Thus, international actors view the world through rules and norms, where the latter is interpreted as “a specifically normative element and standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations”.²⁶ Kratochwil also writes that human actions are governed by specific rules, but they do not determine behaviour of actors²⁷.

Rules and norms are believed to serve as guidance to solving problems and making choices, thus, constructing certain patterns of behavior and “simplifying choice-situations”.²⁸ In other words, it is natural to make choice relying on certain rules, norms and values; to its extent constructivists argue about the influence on choices and thus decision-making. In this connection, the importance of norms and rules are hardly disputable. In the same time Kratochwil distinguishes the meaning of values from rules and norms, arguing that values influence actions differently and on the basis of considerations. While rules set actions, “values inform the attitudes of actors”²⁹. Values are believed to reinforce the will and the emotional components of international actors and state affairs.

According to constructivists for the reason that any actions should be interpreted, their justifications and explanations through norms are significant.³⁰ Thus, norms may serve as a tool to justify and prove the appropriateness of any action of actors. This is a core idea of intersubjectivity described by constructivists. In the same time it is mentioned that the reasons for making actions are not determined only by those who act, but rather by those who analyse them³¹. Thus, the interpretations and construction of the reasons for choices and actions constitute the intersubjectivity. This notion also contributes to the key idea of constructivists that international politics and world are constructed. As Zehfuss concludes, norms are normative and consequently, intersebjectivity is neutral as it is grounded on norms and values. However, she criticizes Kratochwil’s constructivism for lack of explicitly in terms of intersubjectivity. Therefore, it is supposed that norms are construed as presented separately from politics and separately from the impact of power.³²

²⁶ Kratochwil and Ruggie 1986, 767

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Kratochwil 1989, 10

²⁹ Ibid., 64

³⁰ Ibid., 63

³¹ Ibid., 11

³² Zehfuss 2002, 150

All in all, Kratochwil contributes to constructivism approach of theories of international relations by a few assumptions. Firstly, studying the roles of rules and norms in shaping decisions, he sums up that they serve as “guidance devices” aimed at simplifying choices by explaining the factors actors (where actors refer to individuals and collectivities) should consider. Secondly, it is discussed that actions are basically governed by rules. It explains the nature of those rules, laid in international laws, which determine the legitimate behavior. In this extent norms are also the means to follow the goals, cooperate and explain any actions. Consequently, the term of intersubjectivity becomes important for explaining interpretation of rules and norms. Finally, Kratochwil admits the necessity of studying the process of interpretation as far as rules and norms determine choices via the reasoning process.

As I will discuss below, socialisation mechanism is efficient in the case of neighbourhood states. Its main idea is that the EU succeeds in promoting its rules and norms in non-member states in case the authority of the EU is accepted and admitted as appropriate. In the framework of my research Europeanisation is interpreted as internalisation of the EU norms by the way of socialisation and through learning and lesson-drawing from the European experience and practices.

Moreover, Europeanisation is considered as a process of transferring the ideas, values and practices from one side, and receiving them by the other side. The way, how effectively a Russian region adopts them, depends on perceiving the above-mentioned elements by the receiving party, so their identification is a key issue.

Sharing of the EU values, rules and norms can be generalized to ideas, which the association of European countries wants to deliver to neighbouring countries. In this light the theoretical approach of constructivism is applied to answer the research question.

In this light, constructivism, as a theory of construction of associations and international politics, is relevant for learning the process of Europeanisation in the Republic of Karelia as it can give a better understanding of the research question. However, as an approach of constructivism is too broad to explain the Europeanisation process, I will employ a particular theoretical model, stemmed from constructivism – a social learning model. I will introduce this in the sub-chapter 2.3. Before that I will discuss the concept of Europeanisation in more detail.

2.2 Concept of Europeanisation

This section represents the main conceptual framework of the thesis, which in the same time directly correlates to the research question - the process of Europeanisation. It is aimed to understand this concept and give a clear vision of what is considered under Europeanisation in the framework of the research question. Europeanisation is studied overwhelmingly by West-European researchers. In this part I will analyse the approaches of Europeanisation, internal and external modes, touch upon the notion of European external governance and its principles, discuss the mechanisms of Europeanisation and finally analyse the efficiency of Europeanisation on both national and regional/local levels within a neighbouring country.

In my study I do not define Europeanisation either as a positive or negative process. It is more important to understand whether the concept is applicable to the CBC programme within the ENP and what are the perceptions of experts involved in the CBC programme and its projects. First of all, it is necessary to study Europeanisation generally for understanding its core ideas, then to distinguish its external dimension, which, I suppose, will help to answer the research question.

The concept of Europeanisation is often regarded only as a process within the impact of the EU and European integration “on the domestic level, in terms of policies, institutional change and politics”³³. Generally it stemmed from the studies of European integration that study the aspects of forming of common political space of the EU. Thus, the concept of Europeanisation is generally viewed as a process of transformation of internal politics of a member-state of the EU after gaining its membership. In this sense it is defined in terms of institutional and political change of member states³⁴.

However plenty of definitions of Europeanisation have emerged. In the framework of interconnection between the national and supranational level within the EU Europeanisation has two approaches: “top-down” and “bottom-up”. “Top-down” approach is applied for studying the influence of national level of member-states on its supranational level and the functional development, while “bottom-up” approach is focused on influence of the supranational level of the EU on changes at national level of each member-state. Through the prism of the latter approach Europeanisation is considered as the process of forming of common EU policy, defined by internal

³³ Töller 2004

³⁴ Ladrech 1994, 70

policies of its member-states³⁵.

On the contrary in terms of “top-down” approach the functions of joint EU institutions at the supranational level lead to changes in the policies of each member-state. Thus, Europeanisation can be defined as a process, which makes member-state hold reforms for adaptation to the common political direction so that to correspond to demands of EU supranational institutions.

According to Radaelli Europeanisation “consists of processes of (a) construction (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies”³⁶. Such an interpretation is consistent with «top-down» approach and explains the impact of the EU norms on national level of member states.

Thus, the concept of Europeanisation is generally considered as internal process. But since the 1990s its external dimension is paid more attention of EU scholars and has become a separate topic of discussions and debates. Within the external dimension of Europeanisation the object of studies is the impact of European governance on external actors. Moreover the notion of European external governance more often becomes a synonym to “Europeanisation beyond the EU member states”³⁷. In these terms, the key idea of the concept lies in transfer of EU’s policies and norms to the third countries.

In order to make clear what is understood under the European governance it is necessary to study its principles, which are considered to be promoted further in non-member states. Generally “European governance” is determined by regionalism, “supranational integration, multilateralism, transnational markets, the regulatory state, and democratic constitutionalism”³⁸. Applying them to external dimension of Europeanisation or in other words to European external governance the stated principles are adopted beyond the EU. Thus, along with regional integration and liberal transnational markets, the EU is aimed at sharing and promotion of the same constitutional norms as democracy, the rule of law, equality and human rights in its

³⁵ Borzel 2002, 195.

³⁶ Radaelli 2003, 30

³⁷ Schimmelfennig 2010

³⁸ Ibid.

external policy³⁹.

In the same time, a number of scholars acknowledge that EU external governance is basically shaped by EU's *acquis communautaire*⁴⁰. According to Schimmelfennig there are issues where the modes of external governance of internal governance coincide⁴¹. In case of Eastern enlargement the transfer of *acquis communautaire* to non-members resulted in the offer of membership. Obviously this tendency can hardly be applied to all third countries, but at the same time in some cases it reflects the assumption of "external projection of internal solutions". Therefore, one would state that all the principles are consistent with the accession criteria.

If the basic idea and principles of external Europeanisation is quite clear, its mechanisms and efficiency remain ambiguous. There are several classifications of mechanisms proposed by EU scholars, but the one worked out by the early mentioned Schimmelfennig seems more persuasive and reliable. He distinguishes four mechanisms of EU promotion of its rules of governance, which are either direct or indirect, and follow either the logic of consequences or logic of appropriateness⁴².

Under the direct mechanisms one should understand means, which are deliberately implemented by the EU in order to promote its norms and values, while indirect ones may involve participation of non-member states or less presence of the EU both leading to some unintentional external implications. Concerning the other two parameters: due to the logic of consequences Europeanisation is viewed as the set of incentives and "cost-benefit calculations" in non-member states, while the logic of appropriateness consider Europeanisation as a result of legitimacy of the EU on the whole, its norms and values. Thus, these four mechanisms are conditionality, externalization, socialisation and imitation⁴³.

I would briefly touch upon each of the above-motioned mechanisms as it is necessary to understand how Europeanisation functions. Schimmelfennig refers conditionality to direct mechanisms, following the logic of consequences. The idea is that the EU tries to promote its governance rules among non-member states by posing the conditions, which should be met in order to get some incentives. For some states

³⁹ Lavenex 2004, 687

⁴⁰ Here as the accumulated legislation, legal acts, and court decisions which constitute the body of the EU law

⁴¹ Schimmelfennig 2010, 7

⁴² Ibid., 8

⁴³ Ibid.

such incentives can be in the form of various agreements for trade cooperation or those viewed as a step towards membership.⁴⁴ Obviously, this mechanism would work relatively more efficiently when applying to candidate states.

As to externalization it proceeds via the EU's indirect influence on the beneficial calculations of external states.⁴⁵ In other words without direct and intentional actions of the EU its standards are disseminated. "Europeanised" states follow them in order to avoid net costs. For instance, participation in the EU market supposes compliance to its rules.

According to Schimmelfenning socialisation follows the logic of appropriateness and presents a direct mechanism. It is implemented through the EU actions for promoting and even teaching outside states its norms and values, which are followed by the latter in case the authority of the EU is accepted and admitted as appropriate.⁴⁶

The idea of imitation is that non-member states follow the EU model of governance as they accept its norms and policies, thus imitating and considering them as possible solutions for their various problems. The reason is that such outside states identify themselves with the EU members and share the same practices. This mechanism is indirect, as the EU takes no active actions for promoting its governance model.⁴⁷

Evidently the above-mentioned mechanisms can hardly be applied to all external states. Europeanisation contents, conditions and impact vary as well. In this connection the following groups of countries presented in the Table 1 can be distinguished as follows:

Table 1 "*Concentric Circles of External Governance and Europeanization*"⁴⁸

| | Contents | Mechanisms | Conditions | Impact |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Quasi-members | Market regulation | Conditionality and Externalization | Strong dependence | Strong, partial |
| Candidate countries | All | Conditionality | Strong dependence, strong incentives | Strong, general |
| Neighborhood countries | All | Conditionality and Socialization | Medium dependence, weak incentives | Medium, partial |
| OECD countries | Market regulation | Externalization | Medium interdependence | Medium, partial |
| Other regions | Regionalism | Imitation (and Socialization) | Weak interdependence | Weak |

⁴⁴ Ibid., 8-9

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 9

⁴⁷ Ibid., 10

⁴⁸ Ibid

As I study the process of Europeanisation in a Neighbourhood country, particularly in a Russian cross-border region, there is no need to learn all of the mechanisms given by the author, but concentrate on mechanisms within the Neighbourhood countries circle.

The EU worked out ENP in relation to its neighbouring countries, which are not considered as membership candidates. I would like to emphasize that albeit Russia is not a partner of ENP and has developed separate cooperation with the EU, it relates to this group of countries as a partner-state of ENPI and a country sharing a long border with the EU.

Comparing EU external governance relating to ENP partners and candidate states one can draw similarities and differences. Under the ENP the EU offers third countries flexibility in following *acquis communautaire*, thus, both sides escape costly obligations.

Conditionality is reflected within ENP as in case of candidate states. Political conditionality is a basic principle of the EU external policy. On the one hand, cooperation under ENP is based on loyalty to democratic values and norms as well as on organizational procedures, assessment and reporting standards similar to those for candidate countries. On the other hand, in comparison to latter countries, the extent of conditionality is much weaker as conditions and incentives given for following the EU governance rules are not sufficiently attractive. Instead of an opportunity of membership the EU offers ENP partners opened access of goods and services to the EU territory. However, conditionality for ENP is obscure, as it not always considers political interests of external countries. Moreover, the processes of democratization and liberalization there are likely to be met with strong opposition because of authoritarian regimes of some neighbours. Thus, there is an opinion, that democratic conditionality is not effective within ENP and democracy promotion in neighbouring states can hardly be implemented.⁴⁹ Following this logic I can state that neighbouring countries are weak consumers of Europeanisation. Firstly, it is explained by divergence between European and internal national policies and institutions. Secondly, the argument is lack of convenience for third countries as the only benefit is a closer cooperation. Closer cooperation is often named as the only incentive (especially for Russia) and the ENP is criticized due to its “demanding character

⁴⁹ Maier and Schimmelfennig 2007, 45-48.

without attractive and clear incentives”⁵⁰.

As to Russia, it has recently not had any intention of joining the EU so regarding this country the incentive of even an illusion of membership can not allow Europeanisation be powerful. Nevertheless based on the previous research on efficiency of Europeanisation on different levels (from local/regional to supranational) **I assume that Europeanisation on regional and local level is more efficient at promoting the EU practices, styles and norms beyond the EU through cross-border cooperation (CBC).** I assume that programmes within ENPI CBC contribute to the dissemination of European values. Indeed, they reflect the EU practices and are implemented through financing instruments and project activities. In this connection, it should be studied whether CBC can be regarded as an instrument of external Europeanisation on the whole and in the case of Russia.

CBC and its programmes trigger activities and offer new opportunities for border regions, which in some extent contribute to Europeanisation through transfer of policy styles, norms and identities. It can partly be explained by the non-obligatory nature of policies within CBC in relation to public and private actors in the border regions. Therefore, **CBC may contribute to more successful transfer of EU values, experience and ideas, rather than legislations and domestic laws, provided in vertical mechanisms of Europeanisation.** “Since CBC programmes are not imposed on various domestic actors, they do not result in retrenchment, but may lead either to inertia, when actors do not use existing opportunities, as there is no pressure, or to the absorption of and accommodation to European values and practices, when they do respond to the opportunities provided by the EU”⁵¹.

According to Boman the implementation of such cross-border programmes as TACIS in the past and others contribute to Europeanisation, but the process proceeds as an indirect effect⁵². Along with the development of social and economic fields in external border regions, CBC is often perceived as means of “getting closer” to Europe and learning European norms and practices.

To sum up, in the context of the research problem Europeanisation is considered as an external process of transfer of EU norms and principles across the EU borders to the neighbouring states. Therefore, the object of Europeanisation studies is the

⁵⁰ Gawrich et al 2009, 8.

⁵¹ Boman 2006, 3

⁵² Boman 2006, 5

impact of European governance on external actors, where the notion of European external governance is viewed as Europeanisation beyond the EU member states. Two mechanisms of europeanisation can be applied to neighbourhood states: socialisation and conditionality, but the latter is proved to work not efficiently. Socialisation as a direct mechanism is implemented through the EU actions for promoting its norms and values in external states, where the authority of the EU is accepted and admitted as appropriate.

As to the principles of the concept, EU is aimed at sharing and promotion of the same constitutional norms as democracy, the rule of law, equality and human rights in its external policy. According to European studies the EU external governance is basically shaped by EU's *acquis communautaire* and all the principles are consistent with the accession criteria.

Having analysed the works on Europeanisation of EU neighbouring states I can conclude that neighbouring countries are weak consumers of Europeanisation. Thus, concerning the external Europeanisation on the national level one would state that weak conditions result to inefficient conditionality, which is a basic principle of the EU external policy. By contrast, on the regional level it proves to function better through CBC programmes. The argument lies behind its not obligatory nature of policies within CBC in relation to public and private actors in the border regions.

2.3 Social Learning Model

The concepts of social learning was developed by Checkel⁵³ and later constituted as a so-called Social Learning Model by Sedelmeier and Schimmelfennig. This model is based on social constructivism, according to which the EU is considered as the “formal organization of a European international community”⁵⁴ with its own identity, norms and values.

The theory corresponds to the logic of socialisation mechanism and appropriateness principle of Europeanisation, both described above. Thus, it postulates that readiness of an external state to adopt EU norms varies due to the extent to which it perceive the EU practices, norms and rules as legitimate and suitable for adoption⁵⁵.

⁵³ Checkel, 2001

⁵⁴ Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005, 18

⁵⁵ Ibid.

In other words, a particular government may in theory accept the EU rules even if it is not offered any material benefits for acceptance.

According to the Social Learning Model there are factors that have had impact on the transfer of such rules and norms to non-member states through social learning and “argumentative persuasion”. As Checkel points out social learning presents internalization of values and norms and argues it being “a process of social interaction, through which agents reach such an outcome”⁵⁶.

Therefore, Social learning is considered as a “process where agents’ interests and identities are formed through interaction”. As to argumentative persuasion it is defined as a “social process of interaction” as well, but the crux of matter lies behind “changing attitudes about causes and effects”. Without an explicit pressure an object of persuasion has some extent of free choice. Thus, the mechanism of argumentative persuasion should not be regarded as a manipulation but rather a choice and socialization process.⁵⁷

The quality of the rules determines the transfer of the rules. Under quality one should understand the high extent of clearance and consistency of rules. In case the rules correspond to the values and norms of the community, the legitimacy is strengthened.⁵⁸ All in all the Social Learning Model focuses on the assumption that non-state members would adopt EU rules in case of the legitimacy of European community, which is not possible through imposing way of transfer and communication with external states.

Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier argue that perceptions about the identity of the EU community can influence intentions of non-member states to adopt or reject the rules. Thus, to be persuaded to adopt EU rules, they should identify the EU as a community they want to belong to (I do not mean membership or status of a candidate state). As the authors write: “The likelihood of rule adoption increases with the identification of the target government and the society with the community that has established the rules”⁵⁹.

I assume that due to geographical proximity of a Russian cross-border region with its European neighbours the former may especially be committed to such

⁵⁶ Checkel 2001, 554

⁵⁷ Ibid., 562

⁵⁸ Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005, 18

⁵⁹ Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005, 19

identification. If put the theoretical assumption into practice and applied to the case of the Republic of Karelia, one would suppose that the Russian regional government and society are likely to identify themselves with Finnish neighbours and thus the EU. This assumption will be further considered in more details in the chapter of interview analysis.

The mechanism of socialisation is implemented through ENP and ENPI and contributes to the building of contacts via regular interaction with regional political actors. As Checkel writes, interaction can shape interests and identities of agents⁶⁰. Following this logic, through ENPI programmes the European Commission collaborates with regional and local administrations and NGOs and financially contributes to development of civil society. Thus, it uses the socialisation mechanism of EU values in relation to regional actors.

To sum up, social constructivists define Europeanisation as internalization of EU norms, values and standards by the way of socialisation. Such a socialisation mechanism is better explained through Social Learning Model of Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier. Appropriateness of EU community norms and values by regional authorities and civil society contributes to their adoption. Internalization of values and norms is considered possible through social interaction, through which they are transferred to the recipients or agents. Social learning is considered as a process where agents' interests and identities are formed through interaction. In order to be persuaded to adopt EU rules, non-member states should identify the EU as a community they want to belong to in terms of shared norms and values. Also transfer of EU rules depends on viewing the EU rules and practices as legitimate, and consistent and on positive perception of regional and local actors of non-member states.

⁶⁰ Checkel 2001, 559

3. Previous Research on Cross-Border Cooperation and Europeanisation

This chapter discusses previous studies on external Europeanisation and in particular it contributes to understanding of the role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in Europeanisation on the regional level.

Cross-border cooperation of Moldova and Romania presents a successful case of Europeanisation, and, thus, seems interesting to study and compare with Finland-Russia cross-border cooperation within ENPI. As it is given in the analytical article, cross-border cooperation between representatives of CSOs from Moldova and Romania contributed to “social development and democratization”⁶¹. Within such a collaboration, Europeanisation is described as the process of transfer of EU democratic principles and more effective management of projects, however its implementation is seen hardly possible without civil society cooperation on particular common issues⁶². The role of civil society organizations in disseminating European values is significant as they serve as a channel to Europeanisation of their communities: “CSO representatives from both countries declare that they want to benefit from sharing ‘European experience’ acquired by professionals — economic, financial and social experts — in the member states, but also to be treated as equals in the partnerships they conclude”⁶³.

The case of Moldova proves the efficiency of adopting the European model of democracy and social policy. In much extent it became possible due to positive perception of the EU among the representatives of Moldovan civil society organisations⁶⁴. By contrast, the EU model of democratization is not widely supported in Russia in accordance to the conducted polls⁶⁵. All in all one can conclude from this research, that CSOs, involved into ENPI programmes, potentially are the receiver and latter promote the EU expertise, experience, practices, standards and democratic values.

In some extent civil society organizations (CSOs) are the main actors of ENP and ENPI projects, as they (mainly NGOs) jointly with European colleagues implement the programme by working out the projects and setting particular objectives.

⁶¹ Șoitu and Șoitu 2010, 492

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 502

⁶⁴ Ibid., 493

⁶⁵ Levada polls, 2015

Understanding of European influence on civil society in Russia may contribute to studying Europeanisation in a Russian cross-border region.

Regardless of plethora of definitions of civil society existing in political discourse of Russia, I use the definition of Elena Belokurova, who interprets civil society as “a community of citizens that can be united in different ways”⁶⁶. However, Western and Russian interpretations of civil society, as well as the role of government in their activities, differ. Thus, civil society in Russia is considered as a counterpart of Russian political elite and to serve to national domestic interests; within Russian interpretation the international cooperation of CSOs is not something obvious or desirable.⁶⁷ Thus, it becomes evident, that such a misunderstanding impedes the EU-Russia cooperation on the level of CSOs.

Russian legislation towards CSOs has become stricter during last decade. Thus, the activities of Russian NGOs, which use project funding abroad, became more controlled. It can be explained by the wariness and even dread of Russian government and political elite about revolutions in Russia, which are very unlikely to happen. However, it did not reflect much on cooperation based on project activities near the EU border.

In case of the Republic of Karelia CSOs from Finland and Russia were involved into cross-border cooperation and contributed to local development of a Russian region, thus, serving a substitute for soviet government-based programmes for social development. It is noted that during EU-Russian project implementation process within ENPI in the Republic of Karelia, NGOs and other Russian project partners were widely supported by the government and thus, less influence was made on cooperation of Russian civil society representatives with European colleges.⁶⁸ Thus, the case of the Republic of Karelia represents an example of a region with formation of perspective civil society.

Scott and Liikanen raise the issue of the EU influence on civil society in neighbouring countries (including Russia) within cross-border cooperation. It is argued that it is cross-border cooperation of CSOs, which makes Europeanisation process active, because it lets the CSOs adopt and then implement new European practices. CBC presents the informal channel of transmitting the values, typical to the

⁶⁶ Belokurova 2010, 458

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 469.

EU political identity. Such informal networks contribute to better adoption of EU norms and values into various areas of development beyond the national politics. Civil society actors play a central role in the development of the community of well-being as they participate in the setting the agenda of social policy and contribute to establishment of the relations between authorities and people based on democratization values.⁶⁹ In this light, one can logically continue, that in case the civil societies develop their activities in the liberal way following such issues as observing human rights, environmental safety, equality and other values, typical to the Western model of democratic country, then consequently all acquired knowledge and possible positive change in the worldviews of civil society actors may further reflect on the well-being of the region and democratization and social and economic prosperity of regional government. As to the territorial levels of the influence of the EU norms and practices, the local/regional level is proved to be more efficient rather than transnational (supranational) or inter-state (national). Thus, concerning the local/regional level “Europeanization as an ‘ideational’ projection of social values is most palpable and where the influence of CSOs is greatest”⁷⁰. The joint research of Scott and Liikanen proves that the bottom-up way of adoption the EU norms, values and rules presents better approach of Europeanisation.

Jussi Laine expresses a similar opinion on the importance of the role of CSOs’ cooperation for the development of Russia-Finland relations and agrees on the viability of bottom-up way of the cooperation of CSOs. They are considered to formulate the agenda of social policy and even the goals and practices of cooperation.⁷¹ Particularly regarding Russia the author reveals, that by establishing contacts with CSOs within the neighbourhood policy the EU makes “an attempt to approach Russia through an alternative channel and to create operational basis for bottom-up forces seeking to influence the system”⁷². Thus, one may conclude, that the best way to promote European practices in Russia, is to support non-state actors in their attempts to enhance all aspects of life. It seems possible through sharing Finnish experience with Russian colleagues. According to Jussi Laine in its approach to transformations in Russia within neighbourhood policy the EU shifted from building “a ring of friends” to more practical goal – “secure neighbourhood” as conditionality

⁶⁹ Scott and Liikanen 2010, 424

⁷⁰ Ibid., 435.

⁷¹ Laine 2014, 75.

⁷² Ibid., 76

approach can hardly be used in relation to Russia⁷³. All in all, these findings confirm the thesis on importance of CSOs in Europeanisation process and that in the case of Russia, the bottom-up approach seems to improve mutual understanding and relations of the EU and Russia and contribute to well-being of latter.

Considering the previous studies on the issue of Europeanisation beyond the EU and particularly in relation to Russia, I can make several conclusions. Firstly, Europeanisation is commonly interpreted as the process of dissemination of the EU norms, values and standards beyond its borders. Secondly, by various programmes (including those financed by ENPI) of cross-border cooperation civil society organisations play a significant role in the process of Europeanisation. **This conclusion constitutes the hypothesis, which I will further apply in the section of interview analysis: Europeanisation beyond the EU is effective through cross-border cooperation of civil society organizations.** Finally, the issue of the Europeanisation of Russia is quite disputable. On the one hand, researchers argue, that it is unlikely due to a number of reasons, but mainly because conditionality approach does not work in the case of Russia, lack of democracy and because the EU is perceived in Russia as a competitor. On the other hand, Europeanisation on the local and regional levels is more possible; especially if one considers the common history, culture and problems, close social economic relations, shared over the borders, as in the case of the Republic of Karelia and the Eastern part of Finland.

All in all, there is a literature gap in the studies of Europeanisation through cross-border cooperation as few are devoted to the possibility of Europeanisation of Russia and even fewer in regards of a Russian region, which intensively participates in various programmes of development, initiated by the EU and separately by the EU members. In this light, my thesis is considered to contribute to the knowledge of external Europeanisation in such a Russian cross-border region as the Republic of Karelia.

⁷³ Laine 2014, 76

4. Data Collection and Method of Analysis

4.1. Data Collection

In order to answer the research questions I have collected and studied materials from various sources of information. Primary data can be divided into two groups.

The first group is represented by official documents and papers issued by the EU and its institutions concerning ENP. In order to reveal the ideas of the process of Europeanisation implied by the European Neighbourhood Policy there is a need to thoroughly study the basic documents on ENP and previous research on ENP and Europeanisation through cross-border-cooperation. Thus, in order to show how such ideas are reflected particularly in Karelia ENPI CBC programme, it is necessary to analyse official documents. In this connection, sources collected are Regulation No. 1638/2006 on establishing of ENPI, CBC Strategy paper 2007-2013 and Indicative programme 2007-2010.

The second group is a collection of semi-structured interviews of experts. Written sources of information and publications on implemented projects present too narrow view of the practice. In order to get in-depth information, studying perceptions of those involved in the implementation process of Karelia ENPI CBC programme was crucial. In the table below you can see the names and positions of the five interviewees.

Table 2 presents the list of interviewees and the tourism projects they were involved in (coordinators and project managers of partner organisations).

Table 2. Interviewees

| Name of the interviewee | Position/name of project |
|-------------------------|---|
| Dmitriy Basegskiy | head of the Petrozavodsk branch of the ENPI CBC programme |
| Ellen Chernyakevich | “Eco-efficient tourism” |
| Elena Kharcheva | “White road – Cross-border tourism Development in Northern Finland and the Republic of Karelia” |
| Denis Pyzhikov | “Promotion of low-cost and youth tourism in the cross-border areas” and “Contemporary old city: Enhancing cultural tourism across the border” |

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| Denis Rogatkin | “Matka.ru” |
|----------------|------------|

I applied the following criteria when selecting the interviewees. Firstly, I was interested in Europeanisation of the Russian side of the project members. In this connection I have chosen the interviewees from the Russian side of the border namely the representatives of the Petrozavodsk branch of the programme and Russian partners. Secondly, in order to diverse the projects under consideration I have opted one project initiated (named as a “leading partner”) by the Finnish side and one – by the Russian side. In the same time Russian representatives within those two projects were interviewed in order to learn the viewpoint of Europeanisation of the Russian side. As for the head of the programme branch he is considered to be more competent in particularly Karelia ENPI CBC on the whole and his perceptions are important in the framework of the research question. Within tourism cooperation projects there are eleven projects four of which are coordinated by the Russian side and seven by the Finnish side. The list of projects accepted and implemented within “Tourism cooperation”⁷⁴ is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Projects accepted and implemented within “Tourism cooperation” (second call)

| Name of project | Coordinated by |
|---|----------------|
| Karelia - developing competitive tourism resort with collaborative platform | Finnish side |
| Product development and development of market insight and e-marketing of rural and nature tourism | Finnish side |
| Development of cross-border e-tourism framework for the programme region (Smart e-Tourism) | Russian side |
| Quality for Cross-border practices in ecotourism (Quality-CET) | Finnish side |
| Mining Road | Russian side |
| Matka.ru | Russian side |

⁷⁴ Projects within «Tourism cooperation»

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Promotion of low-cost and youth tourism in the cross-border areas | Finnish side |
| The Ontrei Malinen's Kantele Tourist Route (OMK-project) | Finnish side |
| Eco-efficient tourism | Russian side |
| Contemporary old city: Enhancing cultural tourism across the border | Finnish side |
| White road – Cross-border tourism Development in Northern Finland and the Republic of Karelia | Finnish side |

Face-to-face interviewing is vital for obtaining high quality information. Posing questions directly to an interviewee and getting the answers in flesh let the researcher generate new questions if the previous answers had brought some details and new information. It is not possible to understand real state only analysing documents and reports; in this connection findings of individual interviews and their analysis may contribute to proper conducting of research. Moreover, it should be admitted that the questions addressed to the head of the Petrozavodsk branch of the programme differed from those posed to project coordinators (see Appendix 3).

In terms of language, materials used are both in English and Russian. All interviews have been conducted in Russian, strategy papers are available in both languages, but generally the original materials in English were used, as Russian versions represent translations, which are not always accurate.

For recording interview data for further analysis I used two methods: dictaphone recording and note taking. The interviews were recorded by the smartphone application. Such a technique of collecting data let develop rapport and create the atmosphere of eye-to-eye communication. Transcribing the interviews took a long time, however information was not restored word-to-word, only crucial ideas with some quotations of the interviewees were put on paper. As to note taking records I used it in order to stress some ideas of the interviewees, which I should take into consideration. That made the work with audiotape recording more comfortable.

While interviewing it was important to establish good relationship with the interviewees. Such a conversation in positive manner let create comfortable environment for receiving information on experiences and attitudes as well as on

expectations and interpretation of ENP implementation in the programme territory. We should admit that interviewing might create the situation of uncertainty, so before asking the interviewee the research question there was a need to inform the interviewees about my research topic and intentions. In order to identify the purposes of the research and expectations some specialists offer to use the form of consent, which should be in written and signed by an interviewee⁷⁵. Instead of preparing the informed consent I informed my interviewees orally and they were satisfied with the procedure. Thus, I asked for a permission to record the interview via Dictaphone and use the interview data for the purposes of the thesis.

As to the choice of interviewees I intentionally decided to interview an expert who is competent in all projects within the programme and represents one of the branches of Karelia ENPI CBC. Thus, the head of Petrozavodsk branch Mr. Bazegskiy becomes such a person. Moreover, earlier Mr. Bazegskiy worked in the Russian embassy in Finland and in the regional government.⁷⁶ Interviewing him took about 50 minutes and was quite successful as I had all the questions comprehensively answered. The questions discussed are given in Appendix 3.

In the framework of tourism field of cooperation it was vital to have a live conversation with coordinators of the chosen projects. For interviewing them I prepared planned questions, which are the same for each of coordinators. However, while the conversation unplanned ones came into my mind and were logical continuation of the planned questions. Interviewing of two project coordinators took about 40 minutes each. In total three interviews were conducted. Thus questions to the project representatives differ. The interview questions for the project coordinators are presented in Appendix 3 as well.

4.2. Methodology of Data Analysis

The present section presents the analysis of findings through the method of qualitative content analysis, which can be interpreted differently depending on purposes of the research. In this connection, in order to define the method under which the analysis is conducted, it is necessary to give a brief description of it and learn the model developed by Phillip Mayring. Data analysis is necessary for understanding the goals and principles of ENP and particularly the Karelia ENPI CBC

⁷⁵ Gillham 2005, 12

⁷⁶ Dmitry Bazegsky selected as the project officer

programme. Applying content analysis to studying programme documents, previous research and findings of interviews is intended to reveal the basic ideas of Europeanisation reflected there and thus, to make an important step to answering the research question. Reading the most important passages one needs to keep in mind very specific questions. In case of studying primary sources such as regulations on ENP, Strategy paper 2007-2013 or Indicative programme 2007-2010 the specific questions regarding the principles and core values of the ENP were taken in mind.

According to the definition of Bryman the qualitative content analysis present a common approach to the qualitative analysis of documents, which helps to construct the meaning of the text through defining the categories of data and being aware of the context in which the particular data is analysed⁷⁷.

According to Mayring qualitative content analysis is supposed to overcome the disadvantages of quantitative content analysis through developing a systematic and theory-guided approach aimed at applying a category system to text analysis. It is suitable of analysing the data for the present research namely official documents, project documentation and interview transcripts. The researcher defines this method as “an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification”⁷⁸.

Mayring emphasizes four points, which characterize the quantitative content analysis but through more qualitative interpretation. First of all, it helps to determine the situation of text production and background. Secondly, it is analyzing the material step by step, following some analytical rules. Thirdly, inventing categories is an important part of text interpretation. Through this procedure the researcher can make categories depending on the research question. They are initially founded and then revised during the analytical process. Finally, the point is creating the criteria for reliability and validity of analysis, and can be implemented professionals only.⁷⁹

Following the procedures of the qualitative content analysis one can successfully proceed to working with text through interpretation and further analysis. Mayring reflects three different procedures, which can be applied together, in combination or independently basing on the research question: summary, explication and

⁷⁷ Bryman 2004, 542

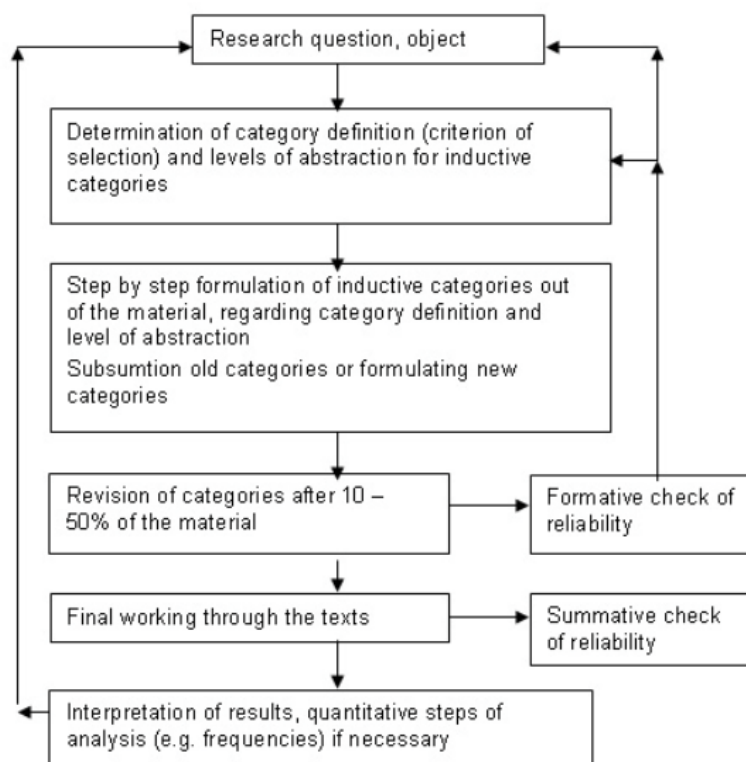
⁷⁸ Mayring 2000

⁷⁹ Mayring 2000

structuring⁸⁰. For my research only the structuring strategy is applied. It supposes determination the stages of analysis, which define the dimension of structuring and constitute the categories. When evaluating the significance of information in terms of the research question data locations are marked. After that they are processed and extracted. In other words, structuring procedure is aimed at extracting the significant information from the text though a category system. By its means the material of documents and interview transcripts is reduced and lets focus on new explicit data convenient for analysis.

In order to develop the aspects of interpretation of the material and thus formulate the categories in the framework of qualitative content analysis, the author offers to use the inductive category development; its is presented by step-by-step procedures, given in the Scheme 1 as follows:⁸¹

Scheme 1. Step model of inductive category development



As one can admit, the general idea of this procedure is, first of all, interpreting the material based on the research question. In my case the goal of studying the primary data is to define the core values and norms reflected in each of documents and then to

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

learn how they are reflected in chosen tourism projects. Then due to the similarity of the findings the information extracted from the documents are categorized.

Applying the above-mentioned method to conducting of data analysis I made the following. I carefully read the official documents having in mind the key purposes of studying them and then highlighted the ideas, which I hypothetically considered valuable for answering to my research question. On their basis categories were constituted. Then these data was united into these categories for further analysis through category system. The results of the analysis are given in Chapters on document analysis and analysis of the programme.

Along with studying official documents I took face-to-face expert interviews for more comprehensive research. The purpose of the interviews in my research is to better know the perceptions and opinions of the interviewees on fulfillment of ENPI on the territory of cross-border cooperation. Moreover I aimed at understanding their perceptions on the process of Europeanisation within the programme projects. Interviewing was intended to find out about the experience of the interviewees, who are directly involved in projects' implementation and competent on the issues of the programme.

Individual interviewing is vital for the qualitative research in international relations. Face-to-face interview techniques allowed revealing useful data and following the methodology. Generally I used the interview techniques within qualitative content analysis, described in the work of Bill Gillham⁸². As Gillham writes about advantages of face-to-face interviewing, firstly it is flexible and contributes to conducting in-depth research, secondly it lets the researcher have more open answers and learn about accidents, which are not often disclosed in questionnaire answers⁸³. The interviews conducted for the present research are semi-structured with open-ended questions. In this connection, some questions were predetermined and other questions emerged while discussion.

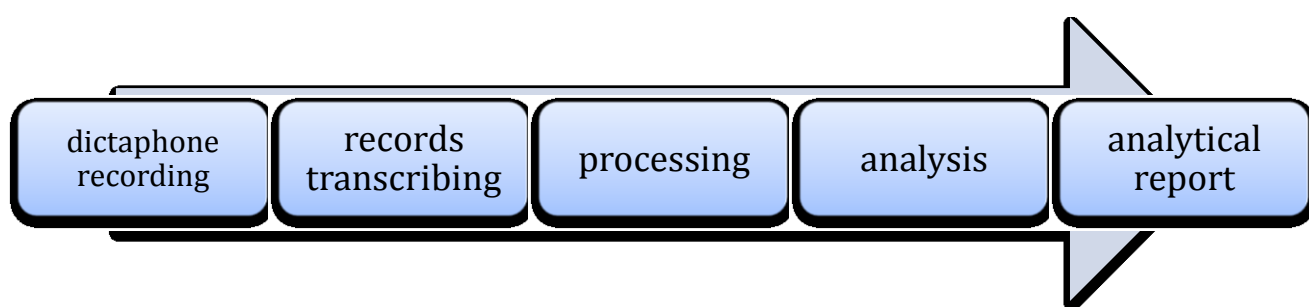
After recording the interviews I transcribed them. In interviewing I followed the purpose to reveal the attitude of respondents towards and views on possible transfer of European norms and values through a cross-border programme on the regional level. That was the reason of transcribing through restoring only essential information in written. Then I moved to processing the transcribed records: highlighted the core

⁸² Gillham, 2005

⁸³ Ibid., 3-5

topics (both general and specific) touched in the interviews and united the answers in accordance to these topics. According to the analysis techniques of Gillham, I edited the transcript in order to reduce the data but to retain the meaning⁸⁴. After that I proceeded analysing them in terms of the research question through thematic analysis by grouping some questions and drawing a theme. Sometimes the respondents went beyond the asked questions touching the issues I intended to discuss further, or not intended to learn at all. In this light, the interviews did not go following the prepared plan and in some extent were improvised. Finally, I reflected the analysis in the section of the thesis on expert interviews analysis. All the above-mentioned stages described by Gillham are presented in the Scheme 2 as follows.

Scheme 2. Stages of the process of interview analysis⁸⁵



Such method of qualitative analysis as expert interviewing was vital in learning the attitudes and experience of people directly involved into the implementation process of the programme and tourism projects. Interview with the head of Petrozavodsk branch of the programme helped me to understand the limits of Europeanisation mechanism and its process relating to the Republic of Karelia. All in all, the interviewees shared valuable information (generally relating to partnership experience), which cannot be found in any published documents or media.

5. Karelia ENPI CBC Programme 2007-2013

5.1 ENP as a Tool of Strengthening Regional Power?

⁸⁴ Gillham 2005, 129

⁸⁵ Ibid.

The sub-chapter presents findings on the nature of ENP and EU-Russia neighbourhood relations. Also it reflects objectives of ENPI and joint projects, implemented through cross-border cooperation. Such findings are important for understanding the background of the programme under consideration – Karelia ENPI CBC 2007-2013.

For the last two decades the EU has concluded ten similar partnership and cooperation agreements (PCAs) with such countries as Russia, Moldova, Armenia, Ukraine, Tajikistan and other former soviet republics. According to the goals of these partnerships they are aimed at providing a suitable framework for political dialogue, supporting the efforts made by the countries and developing their democracies and economies. Moreover it is stated there that the countries above need accompanying their transition to a market economy and encouragement of trade and investment.⁸⁶

Also the partnerships are supposed to establish a basis for cooperation in such fields as scientific, legislative, civil, economic, social, technological and cultural. It is important to mention that the general principles correspond to such democratic values as the principles of free market, international law and human rights. Serving as a platform for further regional cooperation the PCAs eventually pushed the EU to launch its European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in 2003 to prevent the appearance of any new dividing lines with its neighbours after the enlargement⁸⁷.

ENP is the vital element of foreign policy of the EU. It is aimed to establish mutually beneficial conditions for stabilizing the neighbourhood and give an impetus to more democratic development of its partners without accession to the EU⁸⁸. Thus, the logic lies behind stability and security of EU external borders through promoting liberal values to its neighbouring countries. Moreover, two “internal policy justifications” are given for understanding the nature of ENP: to consolidate the attempts of EU foreign policy towards neighbourhood and to strengthen its image of a regional power.⁸⁹ Thus, the ENP presents the tool of broadening the influence of the EU beyond its borders and also for security issues.

ENP is estimated differently, both positively and negatively. But it reveals the goals of EU external policy towards its neighbours. The EU considers, that securing

⁸⁶ Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs): Russia, Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Balfour and Rotta 2005, 8.

⁸⁹ Balfour and Rotta 2005, 10

its own neighbourhood should be reached by extending democracy and ‘good governance’⁹⁰.

Özgür Ünal Eriş studies the reasons of implementing ENP and concludes , that the EU is deeply interested in providing stability and security at the borders and thus, finance into cross-border programmes. ENP is viewed as a part of EU external government, which considers transfer of “EU norms, rules and policies” without membership of partner countries. Firstly, the ENP was developed to reduce the risks and instability from neighbouring countries. Secondly, to establish good relations with new neighbours after enlargement. Both aims failed, however, social and economic development in neighboring countries is possible only through making EU norms and values legitimate.⁹¹

In the framework of ENP and Europeanisation the term of “common values” is often used. The EU promotes its values of liberal market and democracy and exports them to the neighbouring countries. Such a model of EU-like country, which shares the same values, is believed to be an example of a high standard country, which should be followed by the others. However, there are some of obstacles on the way of acceptance the EU liberal values by the neighbouring countries.

These values are not explicit enough and EU members do not have agreed on accurate understanding of shared values. Common values can be better interpreted within the processes of their implementation. The ENP is accused of low level of involvement of partner countries into conversations on this topic and the practical side. It is argued that the EU portrays “common values” as something indisputable and objective, while in fact they present some EU political statements of the better standards. Thus, such an approach lets the EU use these values to impact internal policies of neighbouring countries, in this terms, the ENP is viewed as a tool. The efficiency of such a tool is quite questionable as the approach of transferring these values do not consider national specifics and culture and comes beyond political debates. Leino and Petrov argue that even if the understanding of EU common values improves, it will only confirm their insufficiency in terms of EU international documents, which define the limits of Europe. Thus, EU common values are seen as a weak strategic tool for reaching EU foreign policy objectives.⁹²

⁹⁰ Flenley, 2008, 200

⁹¹ Özgür 2012, 256

⁹² Leino and Petrov 2009, 670.

Basically ENP and the EU policy towards neighbouring countries on the whole are aimed at strengthening the EU as a regional power and providing stability and safety near its borders through contributing to well-being, social and economic development in neighbouring countries.

In 2003 the European Commission published a Communication on “Paving the way for a new neighbourhood instrument”⁹³ aiming to reinforce cross-border cooperation (CBC) with the Eastern neighbours (Moldova, Russia, Belarus and Ukraine).

Robert Kagan pointed out: ‘Russia and the EU are neighbors geographically. But geopolitically they live in different centuries’⁹⁴. Indeed, Russia and EU members have many differences: level of environmental security, legislation on human right issues, technological development and etc. At the same time the European Union and Russia (despite some barriers, which will be mentioned further) have many tools towards long-term cooperation and engagement based on common interests.

Strategic partnership of the EU and Russia is aimed at observing mutual interests and shared values, which are vital within such international organisations as the United Nations, Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, as well as with each other in the bilateral Partnership and Cooperation Agreement which was signed in Saint-Petersburg in 2003⁹⁵. Both parts decided to reinforce their relations by establishing four common spaces: a common economy; education, culture and science; freedom; security and justice⁹⁶.

Russian border regions and their regional governments pay a lot of attention to the European Union, member-states and regions concerning the essence of the European Union’s own “soft” security. Economic, political, social and environmental stability in the border areas would provide tranquility in Europe. Stability could be achieved through the close communication between national, regional, local authorities and civil society on cross-border territories. The main result of this influence is the learning effect or Europeanisation, which appears when direct contacts and dialog are established. Moreover there are common interests and values between the Russian Federation and the European Union, which on the whole include democratic principles, human rights, international law and free market. “The European Union and

⁹³ Paving the way for a new neighbourhood instrument 2003

⁹⁴ Robert 2008, 19

⁹⁵ Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, 1997

⁹⁶ Ibid.

Russia are already cooperating on a wide range of issues, including security issues, international issues, as well as "soft" security threats for example in the fields of justice and home affairs, environment and nuclear safety".⁹⁷

Haukkala describes the background of the EU foreign policy regarding neighbouring states to explain the reaction of Russian authority against the offer to become a partner of ENP. Due to "one-side projection of European norms and values" within ENP, the latter is interpreted as a "normative hegemony" and serves a reason to Russia's refusal from acting under ENP and insisting on its special position of cooperation based of four common spaces. Haukkala presents ENP initiative as a beneficial exchange: closer economic integration for effective implementation of the EU reforms.⁹⁸ It should be mentioned that such an exchange has its side effect as the partner country has no right to set an agenda or negotiate the goals and tools of ENP.

Moscow is aware of the attempts of the EU to strengthen as a regional power, and thus, insists on more equal role with the EU rather than becomes a partner within the EU initiative on neighbourhood policy⁹⁹. Moreover, the refusal from ENP is explained by the "incompatibility of imposing European norms and values with Russian ideas concerning the legitimate course of international action"¹⁰⁰. The research of Haukkala contributes to understanding the perception of ENP by Russian authorities and explaining the refusal of Moscow from ENP, while all other neighbouring countries agreed instead. Thus, one may conclude that Russia showed wariness about the EU being the regional power and demonstrated its intentions as an equal regional power by insisting on special positions within its cooperation with the EU.

Strategic cooperation between the EU and Russia according to four common spaces was launched almost a decade ago. Fabrizio Tassinari defined three conceptual aspects, which characterize this cooperation: "reciprocity, common sense and good neighbourliness"¹⁰¹. His interpretation of these aspects is valuable for the research as they are fundamental for understanding the nature of the EU-Russia cooperation.

Thus, "reciprocity" refers to the state of relations when each party respects the other and treats as an equal, as to the EU and Russia in practice being a partner means

⁹⁷ Yarovoy, 2010, 8

⁹⁸ Haukkala, 2008, 41

⁹⁹ Ibid., 42

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 45

¹⁰¹ Tassinari, 2005, 55

to demonstrate partnership by actions rather than by words. Fabrizio Tassinari interprets “common sense” as the most important aspect for bilateral cooperation. Although both parties share liberal democracy values, the EU is in the forefront of reaching the high democratic standards while Russia is still working in this direction. In these circumstances the EU portrays itself as a leader in strategic partnership. It is supposed that the better solution is to focus on mutually beneficial common interests. As to “good neighbourliness”, it is very important for the EU to develop positive cross-border cooperation to provide security and stability at its borders.¹⁰²

Touching upon the EU-Russia relations it should be noted that views on the way of cooperation differ. So far, Russia considers the EU as a source of economic and political capabilities, while the latter is led by the idea of involving Russia into multiculturalism, which is described as following international legal order. Also, European discourse of cooperation is conditioned by the aim of EU member state to develop bilateral relations with Russia based on economic and energy sectors.¹⁰³

The European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) is the financial instrument for ENP. It is addressed to ENP partner countries and Russia and offers co-funding for promoting good governance and equitable social and economic development process. The ENPI also supports cross-border and trans-regional cooperation as well as the gradual economic integration of recipient countries with the European Union (EU) beneficiary countries. The Regulation (EC) No. 1638/2006 establishes the basic principles governing the ENPI, its scope and the programming of assistance. The ENPI aims at supporting the achievement of the objectives of ENP with a view to establishing an area of prosperity and good neighbourhood relations between and with ENP partner countries and Russia¹⁰⁴

Concerning the scope of the ENPI it covers such domains as: political, economic, social reforms, sectoral cooperation, regional and local development.

Cross-border cooperation is one of the directions of ENPI aimed at working out joint projects for well-being across the borders. It is necessary to note that projects within the ENPI are not intended to play the role of financial donors to the

¹⁰² Ibid., 56

¹⁰³ Nitoiu, 2011, 473

¹⁰⁴ Regulation (EC) No 1638/2006

prosperity of cross-border countries; indeed they trigger CSOs and local authorities to think up the ways to contribute to well-being of their regions, as partners need to co-finance for mutual benefits. That point is very important for understanding the goals of the ENPI.

CBC can be viewed as a key element of the European Union policy towards its neighbors. Cross-border cooperation can be developed in many directions contributing to the development of cultural, economic, political ties between cross-border territories as it supports sustainable development along the European Union's external borders, helps reducing differences in living standards and addressing common challenges across these borders. Such development can be better achieved through participation in joint cooperation bodies and institutes of CBC.

5.2 Karelia as a Model Cross-Border Region

The experience of cross-border cooperation between the European Union and the Russian Federation by the example of the Republic of Karelia can be described as unique due to its advantageous geographical situation as an 'outpost' of Russia. The present sub-chapter is devoted to the role of the Republic of Karelia in development of its cross-border cooperation with Eastern regions of Finland.

Since the early 1990s the Republic of Karelia was actively involved in different multilateral projects of interregional and transnational cooperation in the European North such as the Barents Euro-Arctic Region, ENPI CBC, TACIS, INTERREG etc. These initiatives have brought economic benefits to the region and have encouraged a climate of trust in the border space, softening some problematic issues caused by NATO's eastward enlargement.

The Republic of Karelia occupies territories between the basins of White and Baltic Seas. The economy of the Republic of Karelia is traditionally export-oriented. For instance, in 2013 export of goods and services to the Republic of Karelia reached 1 104.1 million of rubles, while import achieved 262 million of rubles. Moreover, the challenges of the region are its high dependence from energy supply, rate of exchange and large enterprises working on the territory of the Republic are subdivisions of corporations located outside of Karelia, and thus, they pay taxes to other regions while Karelian budget remains deficit.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Results of foreign trade of the Republic of Karelia in 2013

The border status of the Republic of Karelia¹⁰⁶ explains its interest in foreign and interregional links and its status of being a national republic also gives political leaders of the Republic of Karelia the opportunity to claim more autonomy in decision-making process in comparison with other regions of the Russian Federation, in particular in the field of international cooperation¹⁰⁷.

The first stage to the creating new system of relations between Russia and Finland after the collapse of the USSR was humanitarian help. The signing of the treaty on the fundamentals of the relations in 1992 between Russian and Finland became the next impulse for the development of closer and complex cooperation¹⁰⁸. A new stage of these Russia-Finland relations took place when Finland became a member of the European Union in 1995. This event was favorable for the Russian Federation because of the presence of cross-border programmes of the European Union.

After the USSR collapse the Republic of Karelia became received means of TACIS funding. After agreeing on common priorities of the EU-Russia cooperation, a technical office of TACIS was established in Petrozavodsk. In overall, in the framework of all sub-programmes of TASIC more than 40 Karelian projects were adopted with the total amount of financing ranging from 100 thousands of euros to 3,5 millions of euro¹⁰⁹.

One of the successful financing instruments of European regional development in which Karelia participates is the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC), better known as Interreg¹¹⁰. This project has been designed in the framework of the European Cohesion Policy to intensify institutional cooperation across borders between regions located on European Union's internal and external borders, and regions within transnational areas. The Interreg objectives are referred to the following: to develop CBC and assist the regions on the European Union's internal and external borders to tackle the problems resulting from their isolation.¹¹¹ Isolation

¹⁰⁶ The Republic of Karelia has the longest border of all Russian regions with the European Union, with Finland -790 km

¹⁰⁷ Alexandrov 2001, 25

¹⁰⁸ Agreement on the Foundations of Relations between the Republic of Finland and the Russian Federation, 1992

¹⁰⁹ Programme of cross-border cooperation in 2001-2006

¹¹⁰ European territorial cooperation

¹¹¹ REG-INT ERREG 2 - Community initiative concerning border development, cross-border cooperation and selected energy networks

from my point of view in this position can be explained as their ‘closeness’ within the country.

In 1995 the European Commission adopted the Programme Interreg-II-A-Karelia. The programme included 3 territories of regional councils of Norden Karelia, Northern Ostrobothnia and Kainuu. Environmental protection, support for specialists and entrepreneurs assistance became the priorities of the programme. This programme established preconditions for further CBC Programme work and also partly led to the establishment of political forum Euregio Karelia, the agreement was signed in 2000.¹¹² In 2004 Interreg III A Karelia Programme was further transferred to Euregio Karelia Neighbourhood Programme.

The main directions of Euregio Karelia are economic ties, environmental protection, tourism and culture, and from 2003 the development of information technologies and structures of civil society was also added to the objectives. Priority projects included projects in ecology, energy, culture, health and tourism. For the first 6 years under the Programme only in Russian part of the Programme about 40 joint projects were carried out with financing about 62 million of Euro.¹¹³

Eastern Finnish regions as a European representative and Karelia as a Russian representative have much in common. Favorable preconditions and results of CBC programmes provided the opportunity for creation the Nordic Dimension Concept. Later, a new Northern Dimension Action Plan for the years 2004–2006 was approved. According to its priority sectors they include economic cooperation (especially in energy sector with the Russian Federation), freedom and justice, research, education, social welfare and health care¹¹⁴. Unfortunately, the organization didn’t have a lot of financing and from my point of view didn’t achieve as many valuable results as its objectives declared. But on the other hand, this organization was like a joint platform for cooperation at national and regional level between the countries-members of the European Union, Russia, Iceland and Norway.

The Russian Federation as well as its regions has actively participated in many of these organisations. For example, Karelia was involved into joint projects with Finland, Sweden and Norway financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers.

¹¹² European territorial cooperation

¹¹³ Programme of cross-border cooperation in 2001-2006

¹¹⁴ Northern Dimension Policy Framework Document

Unfortunately, this the office of this NGO was listed as ‘foreign agents’ on 20th of January, 2015 and the projects with Russia were blocked as well as their financing¹¹⁵.

Some features and directions of CBC are also mentioned in ‘The Strategy of Social and Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia up to 2020’¹¹⁶ which was adopted by the Government of Republic of Karelia in 2010. The improvement of economic positions of the Republic of Karelia broadened opportunities for co-financing of joint programmes and projects and vice versa – CBC between Russia and Finland (mainly) has increased the economic positions and results for both parts. According to the Strategy, the long-term aim of social and economic development of the Republic of Karelia is “the improvement of quality of life of the population of the Republic on the basis of intensive balanced development of economy in the system of international and interregional exchanges”¹¹⁷.

The Strategy correlates with “The Concept of Social and Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia up to 2017”, which postulates such priorities as: the improvement of invest climate, the reduction of administrative barriers, technological modernization and diversification of the economy (which is actual due to the rise of euro and dollar in 2014-2015), the creation of conditions for strengthening and development of external and interregional links.¹¹⁸

It should also be mentioned, that during the first five years of the existence of Euregio ‘Karelia’ the number of companies with finish financing increased by 20%¹¹⁹. Moreover in 2012 the Russian Federation jointed the World Trade Organisation, which lead to the strengthening the independence of the Republic of Karelia from internal factors. As it said in the Strategy of economic development, about 80 % of the whole export volume in the structure of Karelian export correlates with the 7 major commodity positions¹²⁰. Going back to the Euregio Karelia, it should be pointed out, that thanks to the support of Finland and Russia, on the territories of the Programme more than 80 different projects were implemented during 2000-2014.

¹¹⁵ Nordic Council of Ministers office in St Petersburg listed as foreign agent

¹¹⁶ Strategy of Social and Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia up to 2020

¹¹⁷ *Стратегической целью социально-экономического развития Республики Карелия на период до 2020 года является повышение качества жизни населения республики на основе устойчивого сбалансированного развития экономики, формирования потенциала будущего развития и активного участия республики в системе международных и межрегиональных обменов*

¹¹⁸ Concept of Social and Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia up to 2017

¹¹⁹ Regioni Rossii. Socialno-economicheskiye pokazateli (Regions of Russia, Social and economic indicators), 2006, 34

¹²⁰ The Strategy of Social and Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia up to 2020

Taking into account the history and features of cross-border cooperation by the example of cross-border cooperation between Russia and Finland studied above, the following conclusions can be made. First of all, only through implementing joint initiatives and projects on local/regional level one can speak about real development of integration ties with neighbors. Secondly, preserving of tough centralization in decision-making process makes external cooperation of countries only visible rather than real. Thirdly, the development of Euroregions (in particular Euroregion Karelia) contributes to the growth of knowledge between the partners.

In order to make a conclusion to this part I have prepared a comparison table of programmes and projects of CBC with participation of the Republic of Karelia (Appendix 1). It can be noticed that the priority areas of cooperation since the early 1990s were a cross-border cooperation itself, i.e. creation of friendly relations and joint projects between the actors of both sides, economic cooperation (business activity, cooperation in field of mutual interest such as transporting systems, check point, forestry, tourism etc.), environmental protection, cooperation in culture, education, science etc. Four major cross-border districts of the Russian Federation and Finland such as Kainuu, North Karelia, Northern Ostrobothnia and the Republic of Karelia actively participate in the majority of programmes, which give them opportunities to develop their local and regional territories and give benefits for their regions.

At the beginning of 1990s Finland contributes to the budget of the republic by buying forests and raw materials, but during the last years export-oriented economy can be described as 'oil dependence' of Karelia from Finland. This fact inhibits diversification of the Republic of Karelia and more favorable CBC. After the collapse of the USSR Karelian political elites didn't establish forces and resources of influence to create some kind of special economic zone with huge preferences, but the present head of the Republic of Karelia Alexander Hudilainen lobbied the creation of the Federal target programme of Karelia's development till 2020 with the aim to tackle the most urgent problems in field of economic development with maximum amount of federal support amounted 15 billion of dollars¹²¹.

The position of the Republic of Karelia in the international context after the collapse of the USSR was largely determined by its advantageous geographical

¹²¹ Federal target programme of Karelia's development through to 2020

situation and great potential, which created favorable conditions for the development of cross-border cooperation in many fields and programmes¹²². In this connection, the Republic of Karelia can be viewed as the Russian region of positive cross-border cooperation history and thus, be considered as a model case for external Europeanisation studies. The next part will be devoted particularly to the overview of cross-border cooperation programme with participation of the Republic of Karelia in field of tourism.

5.3 Overview of the Karelia ENPI CBC Programme and Tourism Projects

Since the formation of the European Union cross-border cooperation on external borders has become one of the core element of its policy and considered the assistance in ameliorating differences in living standards along with addressing the challenges and opportunities following on the European Union enlargement. This part of the research is devoted to the international cooperation of the Russian Federation at the example of the Republic of Karelia in projects of cross-border cooperation and, in particular, in tourism and aims to answer the question: How does the experience of cross-border cooperation projects contribute to Europeanisation of the Republic of Karelia?

Nowadays international projects and programmes in the field of tourism are becoming an effective tool for mutual enrichment of cross-border regions. At the end of the 21st century tourism became globally international. According to V. Kiryanov, the Head of the State Committee of the Republic of Karelia on Tourism: “Cross-border cooperation at the present stage performs as a significant factor of the development of tourism - one of the priorities of social and economic development of the Republic of Karelia”¹²³.

The Republic of Karelia has more than 4000 unique monuments of history and culture, natural monuments, famous historical places of the world and national heritage. These include architectural ensemble of Kizhi, Valaam Transfiguration Monastery, the first Russian resort "Marcial Waters", Karelian petroglyphs, Sami stone labyrinths, Sejdiu and many other monuments. In the Internet, there are some valuable sources of information for foreign tourists in English, such as web-sites of

¹²² Alexandrov, 2001, 28

¹²³ V. Kiryanov's report at a meeting of the Government of the Republic of Karelia

“Tourist Information Center of the Republic of Karelia”¹²⁴, “Karelia for investors”¹²⁵, “Web portal of the Karelian Government”¹²⁶ and “Visit Karelia”¹²⁷. There are several types of tourism, which take place in tourism structure of the Republic of Karelia. They are: eco-tourism, active and adventure tourism, hunting and fishing, rural tourism, cultural and educational tourism.

The development of international and cross-border cooperation in the field of tourism gives additional opportunities to improve the quality of tourist services, the transformation of tourism to one of the most powerful factors of social and economic development of the area by attracting foreign investments, especially at the times of economic crisis. Positive results of international contacts and cross-border cooperation led to signing the Agreement between the Government of the Republic and the Federal Tourism Agency on cooperation in the field of tourism in 2013. In particular, the agreement provides for the promotion of tourist product of Karelia in the domestic and international tourism markets, the development of international cooperation in the region in tourism sector and interregional tourism projects etc.¹²⁸

There are many factors contributing to development of tourism as well as cross-border cooperation: unique nature and a large number of natural objects, the presence of a rich historical and cultural heritage; favorable geopolitical position, the presence of stable international relations and the ability to participate in international tourism projects and development of information provision for promotion of the tourist potential and products. At the same time there are several factors, which complicate the development of tourism field: lack of or poor quality of tourism infrastructure; the lack of package tours and tourists routes with multiple types of activities and events; the limits of the border zone in the territory of cross-border cooperation, difficulties in the allocation of land plots for the investment sites and projects; the outflow of income from tourism activities outside the budget etc.

The programme called “Karelia ENPI CBC Programme” or “the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, cross-border cooperation” was prepared to continue CBC. The area of the programme is represented in the Appendix 2. The strategic objective of the programme is to increase wellbeing in the programme area

¹²⁴ Tourist Information Center of the Republic of Karelia

¹²⁵ Karelia for investors

¹²⁶ Web portal of the Karelian Government

¹²⁷ Visit Karelia

¹²⁸ Agreement between the Federal Agency for Tourism and the Government of the Republic of Karelia on cooperation in the field of tourism, 2013

through cross-border cooperation. To achieve this goal, the objective is to strengthen strategic guidance for programme implementation and to pursue concrete cross-border results and visible impacts on strategically important fields of activities.¹²⁹

The priorities of the Programme are:

“1. Economic development. The objective is to strengthen cross-border economic co-operation and increase cross-border business. The important cornerstones of economic co-operation in the programme area are the forest and wood sectors and the tourism sector. 2. Quality of life. The objective is to improve the quality of life in the programme area through cross-border activities. Positive economic development creates a firm foundation to increase wellbeing, but it only forms one part of the whole picture. Issues such as health, clean and pleasant environment, functional and practical structure of society and services also increase the well-being effectively”¹³⁰

As to the coordinating bodies of the Programme, they are represented by Kainuu: Joint Authority for Kainuu Region, North Karelia - Regional Council of North Karelia, Oulu Region - Council of Oulu Region, the Republic of Karelia - Ministry of Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia. The Selection Committee chooses the projects for its implementation. In 2007 seven fields were chosen: “cross-border solutions for sustainable projects; spatial, economic and environmental development projects; tourism cooperation projects; forest and energy projects; cultural cooperation projects; wellbeing projects, natural resources projects and large-scale projects”¹³¹.

Under the second call for proposal eleven projects of cross-border cooperation in the field of tourism were contracted within the Programme. The following expected results can be formulated: increase of tourist flow on cross-border territories; introduction of new marketing models (including electronic) for cooperation in the field of tourism; promotion of eco-efficient technologies in tourism; the creation of new tourist routes for local inhabitants and tourists; improvement of the quality of tourist services; presentment of updated information about the services and tourist

¹²⁹ Programme document of Karelia ENPI CBC, 4

¹³⁰ Programme document of Karelia ENPI CBC, 25-30

¹³¹ Programme document of Karelia ENPI CBC, 25-30

resources; professional development of tourism professionals; and promotion of touristic brands of frontier territories.¹³²

More than forty different partners participate in the projects of ENPI CBC within tourism cooperation. They are representatives of local authorities, educational, scientific, non-governmental organisations, which mean that it beneficially reflects on the quality of cooperation as well as the increase of the competences of such actors of CBC (see Table 3 on tourism projects in section 4.1).

Within the Master's thesis five tourism projects are studied as far as interviewees represent them as projects managers or coordinators. The Table 2 illustrates the name of projects and interviewees involved (see section 4.1). In this connection, brief overview of these tourism projects is given further.

The project “Eco-effective tourism” is aimed at improving eco-efficiency and visibility of tourism services in the programme area. It considers promotion of using eco-efficient technologies in tourism sector, increase of the quality of services, building of recreational infrastructure and facilities and enhancing the touristic route from Petrozavodsk to Norway via target destinations (“Blue Highway” route). Within project implementation partners jointly chose the pilot areas of improvement on the Russian side of programme to make them environmentally friendly and safe. As an additional effect, partners mention enhancement of the image of the Republic of Karelia though improving the infrastructure and leveling touristic services up to European standards.¹³³

Similarly to the previous project, “White Road: Cross-border Tourism Development in Northern Finland and the Republic of Karelia” contributes to development of inbound tourism and enhancement of touristic route but from the city of Oulu to the White Sea, by offering high quality of touristic product and services for visitors from Russia, Finland or countries of Central Europe. The target group is touristic organisations of small and medium enterprises of project territories, their clients are considered as the main beneficiaries of the project. Within project implementation six informational centers for tourists were created with active participation of local administrations. Basically, the project contributed to establishing

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Eco-efficient tourism

a new trans-border touristic route through cross-border cooperation in developing of marketing tools.¹³⁴

“Contemporary old cities” is mainly focused on Petrozavodsk and Joensuu and considers development of historical and cultural tourism. Informational support for tourists is seen as a significant component, thus, platforms of existing tourist web-sites were technically improved and new informational sources on cultural and historical sites created. Along with Internet sources “Contemporary old cities”, touristic boards and “visual markers” were created in the target cities in order to assist and guide tourists. Moreover, the project launched new object constructions, events and touristic urban routes.¹³⁵

The project “Promotion of low-cost and youth tourism in the cross-border areas” integrates education institutions of Russian Karelia and Northern Ostrobothnia, creating the platform for convenient travelling for the youth. Moreover, it considers triggering the activities of tourism business and improving the images of target areas for potential investment. Within the project implementation a “Web-based centralised booking system” is developed in order to ease the use of offered touristic services. This project also contains cultural aspect, as it believes to promote better understanding and tolerant attitudes between Finnish and Russian young people through stimulating lasting contacts.¹³⁶

Finally, “Matka.ru” (or “Matkachi”) is also connected to development of youth tourism. It launched the building of youth educational centre in Matkachi settlement within the Republic of Karelia. The project is ambitious as it claims to settle a new pattern for development of educational tourism in the Republic of Karelia. As mentioned on the web-site of Matkachi, currently there is no similar centre in Russian Karelia, thus, the model of international youth centre, used in Finnish «Hyvärilä» (city of Nurmes) is to be adapted for Matkachi project.¹³⁷

To sum up, implementation of international projects in the field of tourism adds existing governmental tools of development and creates even more effective system of tourist and recreational potential through initiatives of stakeholders at different levels. Also, the considered projects are aimed at increasing attractiveness of the programme area (mainly the territories of the Republic of Karelia) for tourists. If all

¹³⁴ White Road. About Project

¹³⁵ Contemporary old cities: Enhancing cultural tourism across the border

¹³⁶ Promotion of low-cost and youth tourism in the cross-border areas

¹³⁷ Description of the Project “Matkachi”

the above-mentioned projects compares, one can note that they suppose **mainly improvement of touristic services in the area of technologies in wide understanding (informational support, programme applications, infrastructure, etc.)**. The positive results would be mutually beneficial as on the one hand, the flow of tourists from neighbouring Finland contributes to economic development of the Russian region, on the hand, tourists coming from Finland and crossing the Finnish-Russian border feel themselves more comfortable and safe.

6. Europeanisation as Transfer of Technologies?

6.1 What are the Values and Policies the EU would like to transfer to the Republic of Karelia?

Based on the previous research on external Europeanisation, I consider this process as transfer of European values, norms, rules, practices and standards to neighboring countries either on the national or regional/local levels. This conceptualization of Europeanisation is drawn from previous research, however, in order to understand whether CBC can serve as an instrument of Europeanisation towards the neighbouring regions, it was necessary to search for general 'European principles' that are represented both in the EU guidelines and perceptions of goodness and aims of CBC.

In this connection the goal of document analysis is to define those ideas, values and practices, which are supposed to be transferred through ENPI to neighbouring countries, particularly to Russia. In terms of the research question and the topic of the thesis some general values and purposes of the ENPI are reflected with special focus on those connected to promoting priorities of the Karelia programme and developing tourism cooperation.

Beginning with Regulation (EC) No. 1638/2006 it is worth to mention that it covers general provisions of ENPI, EU principles and goals of CBC with neighbouring countries. As it is drawn in the paper:

“The Regulation constitutes one of the general instruments providing direct support for the European Union’s external policies”¹³⁸

ENPI presents a single policy-driven instrument, which is considered to provide with proper management tools and significant assistance. The main purpose of establishing the ENPI and support for CBC is “to avoid the creation of new dividing lines” (see paragraph 15) so that external partners and the EU members can jointly contribute to prosperity through cooperation. Viewing the document from the very beginning to the end one would have to find out that Russia is separately mentioned (see paragraph 11) in connection to specific strategic partnership through creation of four Common Spaces.

Generally in the framework of its external policy towards the neighbouring countries the EU promotes building cooperation based on shared values of democracy, respect for human rights and such common values as rule of law, good

¹³⁸ Regulation (EC) No. 1638/2006, 1

governance, market economy, open, rule-based and fair trade, sustainable development and poverty reduction¹³⁹. Moreover, the regulation draws on priorities, which are defined jointly by the EU and its partner countries: political dialogue and reform, trade and economic reform, equitable social and economic development, justice and home affairs, energy, transport, information society, environment, research and innovation, the development of civil society and people-to-people contacts¹⁴⁰.

Following the logic of Europeanisation understood towards EU external partners one would have to consider some values and rules of governance to be transferred to recipients. Idea of such a transfer can be found in this Regulation. According to it the EU seeks to promote commitment of its partner countries to the values of “liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law”¹⁴¹, which form the base of the EU foundation.

Moreover such a transfer of values can be interpreted from the paragraphs on promoting changes in partner countries within the above-mentioned areas by means of reforms. In that sense priorities are as follows:

“(c) strengthening of national institutions and bodies responsible for the elaboration and the effective implementation of policies in areas covered in association agreements, partnership and cooperation agreements,

(d) promoting the rule of law and good governance, including strengthening the effectiveness of public administration”¹⁴²

Thus, the Regulation considers promotion of political, economic and social reforms in external countries as a goal of the EU neighbourhood policy. In other words, by means of CBC the EU sets a goal to make influence on national institutions and governing in order to promote high standards.

Content of the Regulation was learnt for defining principles, which supposedly laid down to Karelia ENPI CBC programme and its tourism area. Thus ENPI seeks promotion of increasing the number of youth exchanges, contacts between civil societies and cultural institutions. Also it is aimed at cooperation via joint regional and local initiatives for sustainable economic, social and environmental development in border regions. As to specifically the area of tourism cooperation, it is mentioned in the Regulation as a way of “supporting cooperation aimed at protecting historical and

¹³⁹ Regulation (EC) No. 1638/2006, 1

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 3

¹⁴² Ibid., 3

cultural heritage and promoting its development potential”.¹⁴³

Strategy paper of ENPI CBC draws on the strategic framework of the EU support for cross-border cooperation with its neighbouring countries, set for the period from 2007 to 2013. In this document the EU-Russia Strategic Partnership is seen as a priority direction within its external policy. The Strategy emphasizes the importance of former CBC programmes and perceives Russia as a model country for such cooperation. In particular, it mentions strong support in Russia from the national level¹⁴⁴. As to the Indicative Programme (2007-2010) it describes individual CBC programmes and their specific objectives along with the expected results, indicators and possible risks.

Concerning the general goal of cross-border cooperation the Strategy states support of sustainable development across the EU borders. Also CBC is aimed at leveling the living standards across the borders. The four core objectives are stipulated in the Strategy, namely: 1) promotion of economic and social development, 2) addressing shared challenges in environment and health sector, 3) ensuring security at the borders, 4) promotion of local cross-border “people-to-people” contacts.¹⁴⁵ As far as the research is concerned with tourism projects, the goal of economic and social development should be addressed in the research. However promotion of people-to-people actions is considered a common goal and the result of any CBC programme as it supposes exchange of experience and joint actions both among the partners within one country and outside with a EU-member country.

So far, social and economic development is a very broad objective, which is specified in particular CBC programmes and projects. Anyway it is considered by the Strategy as a key element of prosperity, stability and security on the EU’s external borders and in the framework of the EU-Russia Strategic Partnership. The issue of tourism development relates to the above-mentioned objective, as it is relevant to economic and social development of across the border.¹⁴⁶

In relation to the tourism projects under consideration the following actions within this objective should be focused on:

“- promote cross-border trade, investment, research and tourism;

¹⁴³ Regulation (EC) No. 1638/2006, 4.

¹⁴⁴ ENPI Cross-border Cooperation Strategy Paper 2007-2013. Indicative programme 2007-2010, 6.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 15

- improve investment climate and economic infrastructure, through preparatory and feasibility studies and where appropriate through small-scale infrastructure projects”¹⁴⁷

In the part on related policy areas it is stated that the fields of cooperation under CBC programmes generally are those relevant for broader EC and EU policies. In these fields “the programming and implementation of these CBC programmes will need to be carried forward in full awareness of the implications of these policies at the local and border level”.¹⁴⁸ It lets think that from the EU side it is clearly pointed that regardless of common interests and values the CBC should fully operate under the EU policies.

6.2 ENPI Tourism Projects as Exchange of Experience

Based on the previous research about EU influence on civil society in neighbouring countries, I concluded that through cross-border cooperation CSOs contribute to Europeanisation of neighbouring countries on the regional/local level. In this light interviews with representatives (managers of ENPI projects) of those Russian regional CSO’s (mainly NGOs) involved into implementation of joint projects within ENPI CBC 2007-2013 seem valuable to understand their perceptions of and attitude towards the norms and values, which the EU wants to promote through CBC programmes, and to find out whether respondents are aware of them. Basically I follow the goal of learning to understand personal experience and perceptions of experts on the process and the results of collaboration and thus, apply the hypothesis drawn from the literature on CSOs, according to which they contribute to Europeanisation of the region of the neighbouring country, to the case of the Republic of Karelia within tourism cooperation.

Interviews contribute to answering to my research question. First, I present the answers of each interviewee separately. Then I present my analysis of their answers by introducing the main arguments shared by the interviewees. Finally I make the overall conclusion, based on those arguments. The list of questions is given in Appendix 3.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 22

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 19

The head of the Petrozavodsk branch of the programme Dmitriy Basegskiy has rich experience of working in the field of international cooperation and in the regional authority of the Republic of Karelia¹⁴⁹. On the basis of overall projects applications Mr. Basegskiy admitted that organisations both in Finnish regions and in the Republic of Karelia were highly interested in participation in the programme:

“Civil society organisations in the Republic of Karelia are highly interested in participating in the programme, and I can confirm it based on the high number of applications. I would emphasize that the interest from the Finnish side was great as well, i.e. the interest was mutual. Without participation of Russia, Finnish organisations would not receive such a huge funding from the EU”

Across the borders various institutions and NGOs had plenty of ideas, which would have to promote well-being on the programme territory through joint actions. Financing instrument let some of them implement project activities.

Answering to the question of possible transfer of European principles, values and norms the respondent first of all gave his interpretation of those notions. Thus, he separated them into democratic values, which are shared by the Russian side, and standards of doing things within a particular area of activities. Mr. Basegskiy argued that no transfer of such values as development of democratic society, human rights could not be identified for the reason of theme-based approach of the programme. According to him, partner countries jointly applied for the launch of the programme in those fields, which they considered more prioritized, but in the framework of general objectives of ENPI. They were: forestry, tourism, energy efficiency, culture and others. On the ground of these fields or themes all the project rounds were launched.

All in all the projects within Karelia ENPI CBC were aimed at **economic development**, which is stated as one of two priorities in the programme document. As indicators such results were considered: creation of new work positions, creation of infrastructure, transfer of new technologies and other contributions. At the same time, it was acknowledged that **the Russian side adopted some management and technical standards**. For instance, the system of financial reporting (accounting)

¹⁴⁹ Dmitriy Bazegskiy selected as the project officer

used for the programme is the same as the one applied to the European Commission. The interviewee also stated that for **implementation of almost all projects, where technologies were applied, the Russian partners adopted experience of their Finnish colleagues.** He illustrated this point by the example of projects on water purification and roads, which aimed at application of Finnish and Swedish standards. Thus, the head of the Petrozavodsk branch of the programme believes that **Europeanisation can be defined through CBC programme and its projects only partly – in relation to technological aspects, which are better developed in Finland.**

Due to Ukraine crisis the EU introduced sanctions against Russia in 2014. Potentially this fact could have had impact on the current projects within ENPI CBC and on the further financing of CBC of Russia and the EU countries. In that connection, I asked the interviewee to share his attitude towards this issue and give some prognosis of future of the Karelia ENPI CBC. Mr. Bazegskiy confirmed the importance of this issue and stated that fortunately, **sanctions did not result in termination of CBC programmes with Russia.** However, he admitted that earlier the decision on launching new financing instrument for further implementation of CBC programmes was highly questionable due to tense situation over EU sanctions in summer 2014. Moreover he confessed that his European colleagues informed him about discussions on that termination of the programme activities at the meetings of the European Council. Thanks to some EU-members and especially to Finland, which insisted on continuation of the programme implementation, the EU sanctions did not affect ENPI CBC with Russia. Thus it made possible to complete the projects, which were already launched, and to start working on a new programme under ENI (European Neighbourhood Instrument) planned to be launched from the beginning of 2016. Furthermore the interviewee reminded of the decision of the European Commission of 8 October 2014 on the allocation of financing for the programme including CBC programme with Russia.

The fact that the CBC programme with participation of Russia side was not terminated due to the sanctions is highly important. It allows concluding that ENPI programmes are significant for the EU, the European Commission and in particular for Finland. All in all, interview with the head of Petrozavodsk branch of the programme helped me to understand **the limits of Europeanisation mechanism and its process relating to the Republic of Karelia. Thus, he confirmed the existence**

of the process in the Republic of Karelia but limited it to the technological aspects.

The second interviewee was the coordinator of “Eco-efficient tourism” Ellen Chernyakevich. She was responsible for organisational and communicational aspects of project implementation. As Mrs. Chernyakevich stated, the choice of the theme of cooperation within ENPI programme was determined by those principles, which are highly appreciated in the countries of North Europe: ecological efficiency and sustainable development. Along with general objectives and activities, described in the project application, the interviewee noted very important practical goals they followed by project implementation. For instance, **partners aimed at promoting respect of nature, the idea of sustainability and teaching the European practices of eco-efficient tourism** in the Republic of Karelia. The coordinator believes that if properly declared those values should be adopted by the present and the future generations. According to her, ideas and values laid behind the project were comprehensively promoted by means of a number of study seminars, meetings and publications. The interviewee argued that implication of these activities can hardly be evaluated, but still the very attempt to promote such European values, which are not paid much attention in Russia, was more or less good contribution.

The respondent also shared her opinion of possible Europeanisation through the programme implementation. First of all, she defined Europeanisation as “mutual penetration of cultures and values, development of tolerance and mutual understanding.” Also the interviewee referred to the budget allocation settled for the whole programme. Thus, considering the fact that the EU is the main financial donator (50 % is provided by the European Commission, 25 % by Finland and 25% by Russia), she supposed that the EU is more interested in the programme and development of cross-border region. She admitted that the Karelian programme was considered “to approximate the Republic of Karelia to Finland” and various application fields of cooperation were worked out to diversify this “approximation”. **Concerning eco-efficient tourism project she believed that Europeanisation mechanism worked.** To prove this point of view the coordinator illustrated some examples. Thus, she admitted that **all technologies and technological trends were taken from Finnish standards.** For example, her Finnish colleagues advised which pilot areas are suitable for constructions of infrastructure. As a result,

recommendations of Finns were finally implemented regardless the fact that those areas had been already chosen by the Russian side.

Distribution of activities across the borders was also an interesting issue for discussion with the interviewee. Generally educational activities were conducted and information boards were installed on the Finnish side. Also Finnish partners invited Russian colleagues to Finland for discussions of the results achieved in the Republic of Karelia. As to the Russian side – the vast majority of pilot projects were implemented. Mrs. Chernyakevich also referred to **transfer of operationalization (organization) standards to the Russian partners**: “Our Finnish colleagues used to work with online forms and offered to use a special convenient server, which we later adopted into our practice”. Concerning the identification of the Republic of Karelia with a European Mrs. Chernyakevich noted, that she would agree with this point, but only if compared with other Russian regions. In her answer she referred to such arguments as geographic proximity, close social networks on all levels from local and regional authorities to business structures. But on the whole as any other Russian region it suffers from, what she defined as, wrong perception of Western values and many problems connected to soft security.

The third interviewee was the manager of one of the Russian partner organisation of the project initiated by the Finnish side – “White road – Cross-border tourism Development in Northern Finland and the Republic of Karelia” Elena Kharcheva. First of all, the interviewee admitted that projects within the programme contribute to long-term cooperation. At the example of “White road” project she stated that it led to lasting cooperation and resulted to creation of so-called “partnership network”. Although the project implementation period is over, partners still conduct meetings and seminars, where perspectives of further joint projects are discussed. The interviewee mentioned that generally the format of cooperation supposed **exchange of experience**. However, she could state that generally the **Russian side was a major recipient of the Finnish practice**. She considers such a tendency quite obvious and explains it clearly. The point is that **Finnish partners are more experienced** in the issues of touristic industry in comparison to the Republic of Karelia. As she pointed: “Our Finnish colleagues are more successful and experienced in tourism field than representatives of tourist companies of the north regions of Russia”.

As to the question of the process of Europeanisation the interviewee admitted its reflection in the project, however, she emphasized **the positive effect of transfer of**

European technological standards, core values and principles along with adopting of successful experience: “Such transfer contributes to the well-being in our region”. Also she mentioned that in case Karelian tourist companies in Russia were brought closer to the standards of the EU, it would have to lead to development of tourism sector in the Republic of Karelia and attract more tourists both from Russian regions and overseas.

The fourth interviewee was Denis Pyzhikov, the manager of several joint projects within ENPI CBC programme, who represents the partner organization “the Karelia Regional Institute of Management, Economics and Law of Petrozavodsk State University”. It should be mentioned that during the period from 2011 to 2014 the organization was involved in seven projects within Karelia ENPI CBC. According to Mr. Pyzhikov, cooperation with educational institutions of Nordic countries contributes to internationalization of education in Russian Karelia in such fields as tourism, creative industries and entrepreneurship. In particular, the organization has a long collaboration with Finnish universities on life-long learning and training of entrepreneurs. The interviewee also admitted that creative industries present the sector, which is highly attractive for investments in the economy of Nordic countries. The interviewee’s understanding of the goal of the programme complies with the one mentioned in the programme document, which says that **Karelia ENPI CBC is aimed at economic and social well-being of the programme through international cooperation**¹⁵⁰. As to identification of the Republic of Karelia with European region and Finland, the respondent only mentioned that cross-border territories of Russia and Finland have common unique cultural heritage of indigenous peoples, close historic and economic ties and natural resources.

Within joint educational management programmes new modules were created: green technologies for carrying out public events and technologies for coordination of volunteers. Moreover, the cooperation was held in the area of providing sustainable conditions for enhancing touristic attractiveness in the programme territory. The most important information concerns the perception of the interviewee on possible Europeanisation. So far, Mr. Pyzhikov did not define Europeanisation at all, but noted the following: “I believe that it would be quite overstated to argue about transfer of any European norms and values through this programme. Within the project

¹⁵⁰ Programme document of Karelia ENPI CBC 2007-2013

implementation I would rather emphasize exchange of experience and enrichment of recourse basis (technological, pedagogical, informational, etc)”.

The fifth person interviewed was Denis Rogatkin, a project coordinator and the representative of Karelian Educational Development Fund (KEDF), which is a leading partner in the joint project “Matka.ru”. During interviewing it was noted, that KEDF gained great experience of implementing infrastructure project in building. Mr. Rogatkin argued that his organization had never had such an experience before. Moreover, when asked whether KEDF still apply the gained knowledge, the interviewee confirmed that the touristic center “Matka.ru” functioning is based on practices learnt from Finnish partners. The ENPI CBC programme contributed to comprehending understanding of the situation in the Finnish system of working with youth. The project determined further cooperation under other educational projects. The goal of the ENPI CBC programme was defined in the same way as well-being of the programme territory through cross-border cooperation of partners.

As to the issue of identification of the Republic of Karelia with a European territory, the respondent referred to it as very questionable issue. But generally according to him, regardless of geographical proximity there are more differences than similarities. Similar to Mr. Pyzhikov, Denis Rogatkin did not define Europeanisation, saying that he did not apply this term. As to the question of possible transfer of EU values and norms through programme implementation the interviewee pointed:

“I would rather say that Karelia ENPI CBC programme contributes to bilateral exchange of experience, knowledge and technologies. The idea of ENPI programme lies behind equal partnership of European countries with its external neighbouring countries. Definitely, we receive very valuable knowledge on social technologies, applied in Finland. However, it seems to me too inefficient to transfer this experience to Russia mechanically, because it operates differently in other social environment. It is more fruitful to learn and analyze European practices and then search for own new solutions based on this analysis”

After analyzing the content of each interview, I was able to construct seven main arguments as my conclusions. First, understanding of the goal of the ENPI CBC

programme complies with the one stated in the programme document as “to increase well-being in the programme area through cross-border cooperation”¹⁵¹. Second, all seem to agree that influence of project implementation is reflected in the establishment of new cross-border contacts and enhancement of mutual understanding. Third, the programme contributes to further cooperation and long-standing partnership. Fourth, Finnish partners have shared valuable experience mainly in the areas of management practices and technologies, which are applied by Russian partners. Fifth, CSO representatives avoided the use of the term of Europeanisation few were willing to share their interpretation of the process of Europeanisation. Sixth, regarding the self-identification of Karelia, it seems that the Republic of Karelia is not identified as a European region. Seventh, only one of the five interviewees agreed that transfer of values and norms of the EU would have taken place through the programme implementation, while others mentioned only **Finnish technological practices** to be received by Russian organizations. In other words, **transfer of practices in the sphere of technology** had taken place.

Therefore, in this case I should speak about transfer of practices rather than that of values. However, these practices themselves might be understood as reflecting certain values connected with democratic societies, such as transparency and accountability.

It seems that all areas of cooperation are those in which Finland and the Nordic countries as a whole have longer experience than their Russian partners such as green technologies, eco-efficiency tourism, sustainability, innovational education. Thus, I would still argue that in these projects transfer of European (Finnish) practices to the partners from the Republic of Karelia has taken place rather than equal exchange of experience that was emphasized by interviewees. It was Finnish partners who shared their technologies and knowledge in the above-mentioned fields of cooperation within ENPI programme.

As to the head of Petrozavodsk branch of the programme, he mentioned only some aspects of Europeanisation, which can be drawn through adoption of some technological expertise of Finnish colleagues. Other interviewees shared their experience of using and further adopting some organizational and technological standards and confirmed such point of view. All in all, the interviewees shared

¹⁵¹ Karelia ENPI CBC Programme Document 2007-2013, 4

valuable information (generally relating to partnership experience), which cannot be found in any published documents or media.

To sum up, the following conclusions should be drawn. Firstly, **the respondents do not prove the assumption that civil society actors perceive the Republic of Karelia as a region with an identity close to European identity.** Secondly, based on interviews Europeanisation of the Republic of Karelia can be viewed only **as transfer of best European practices and technological experience.** Thirdly, **the programme contributed to long-term cooperation of civil society organisations.** Thus, **the hypothesis that Europeanisation beyond the EU is effective through cross-border cooperation of CSOs is confirmed if narrowed to technological aspects of transfer of European practices and norms.**

7. Conclusions

Europeanisation is commonly interpreted as an external process of dissemination of the EU norms, values and standards beyond its borders to the neighbouring states. Therefore, the object of Europeanisation studies is the impact of European governance on external actors, where the notion of European external governance is viewed as Europeanisation beyond the EU member states. Through the prism of social learning model Europeanisation is interpreted as internalization of the EU norms by the way of socialisation and through learning and lesson-drawing from the European experience and practices.

The previous research on different levels of Europeanisation allows me to argue that on the national level neighbouring countries are weak recipients as due to no perspective of membership political conditionality hardly reasons their motives to incorporate European practices. By contrast, this process better functions through CBC programmes on the regional level. One of the reasons for this is its non-obligatory nature of policies within CBC in relation to public and private actors in the border regions. In this connection, this hypothesis was tested in the case of the Russian region, the Republic of Karelia.

In order to answer one of the research sub-questions and find out the norms that the EU wants to transfer to its neighboring countries, official documents on ENP were studied. Thus, based on the content analysis I found out that the EU interprets its core norms the external policy as democracy, the rule of law, equality and human rights. Moreover, EU external governance is basically shaped by EU's *acquis communautaire* and all the principles are consistent with the accession criteria. According to it the EU seeks to promote commitment of its partner countries to the values of "liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law"¹⁵², which form the base of the EU foundation and considers promotion of political, economic and social reforms in external countries as a goal of the EU neighbourhood policy. The issue of tourism development is relevant to economic and social development across the border in the framework of the EU-Russia Strategic Partnership.

According to socialization mechanism of Europeanisation within the social learning model, developed by Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, particular EU norms,

¹⁵² Regulation (EC) No. 1638/2006, 3

values and practices can successfully be received by external countries in case if they accept and admit the authority of the EU as appropriate. In other words, the efficiency of adopting them by a Russian region depends on perceiving the above-mentioned elements by the receiving party, so the identification of the EU becomes vital. Consequently, this assumption was approached and tested in interviewing.

Based on the analysis of interview findings, members of Karelian civil society organisations admit superiority of Finnish technologies, infrastructures, management practices and expertise over Russian. They find significant to adopt such practices to Karelian realities. In this extent, I argue that due to social learning of Finnish experience Europeanisation takes place. However, on the whole, civil society members of organisations involved in tourism projects did not identify the Republic of Karelia with a European region and did not accept the claim of transfer of any values or norms implemented by the CBC programme as such.

As social learning is considered as a process where interests and identities are formed through interaction, the role of cooperation of civil society organisations in contributing to Europeanisation was taken into consideration.

The objective of leveling of standards across the borders is mentioned in majority of project plans. For instance, the project plan of “Eco-efficient tourism” considers activities on adopting European technologies of “Nordic lifestyle” to Russian realities in the field of sustainable tourism. Obviously, the term leveling means that the level of ‘development’ of the project partner should come ‘closer’ to that of the leading partner. As tourism practices could be taken as ‘better’ developed in Finland than in Russia one may argue that in Finnish-Russian cooperation under ENPI CBC programme the Republic of Karelia was a recipient of European experience as Finnish partners mainly shared their technologies and knowledge with Karelian partners, and not vice versa

However, Europeanisation of the Republic of Karelia can be viewed only as transfer of best European practices and technological experience. Thus **the hypothesis that Europeanisation beyond the EU is effective through cross-border cooperation of civil society organizations is confirmed if narrowed to technological aspects of transfer of European practices and norms.**

Experience of cross-border cooperation of the Republic of Karelia is important for addressing the issue of external Europeanisation as this process is not instantaneous and requires time for establishing close contacts of regional authorities and civil

society across the border. The Republic of Karelia may be considered as a model case for external Europeanisation. Establishment of Euroregion Karelia is an argument for successful cooperation of Finnish regions and the Russian Karelia. However, it is not possible to argue that Karelia would have turned more 'European' thanks to this cooperation. There are still many obstacles, such as old-fashioned and export-oriented economy of the Republic of Karelia and the lack of sufficient financial assistance from the local and regional level.

Thus, I argue that **the Republic of Karelia can potentially be a willing region-recipient of EU standards but reception of EU 'standards' is limited to economic and technological aspects only**. This is the perception of those involved in project implementation.

To conclude, Europeanisation of the Republic of Karelia through cross-border cooperation has potential due to geographical proximity, wide experience of cooperation within programmes initiated by the EU and close contacts of regional authorities and civil society organisations across the border. However, the research findings on tourism cooperation within Karelia ENPI CBC programme tell about limited nature of Europeanisation in the given Russian region., It refers to adopting technological standards, expertise and logistics of the Finnish partners in the field of tourism development. Such a limitation might be explained by the focus of the programme on the practical priorities of such as economic and social development.

As to academic significance of my case study, it contributes to the studies of Europeanisation as it discusses its external dimension. In particular, it addressed the transfer of European practices to the Republic of Karelia, the Russian cross-border region with extensive ties with Finland. This case study cannot be generalized, and therefore, more (case) studies would be required in order to get more certainty about possibilities of external Europeanisation in other contexts.

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Appendix 1

Programmes, organisations and forums of CBC

with the participation of the Republic of Karelia: comparison table

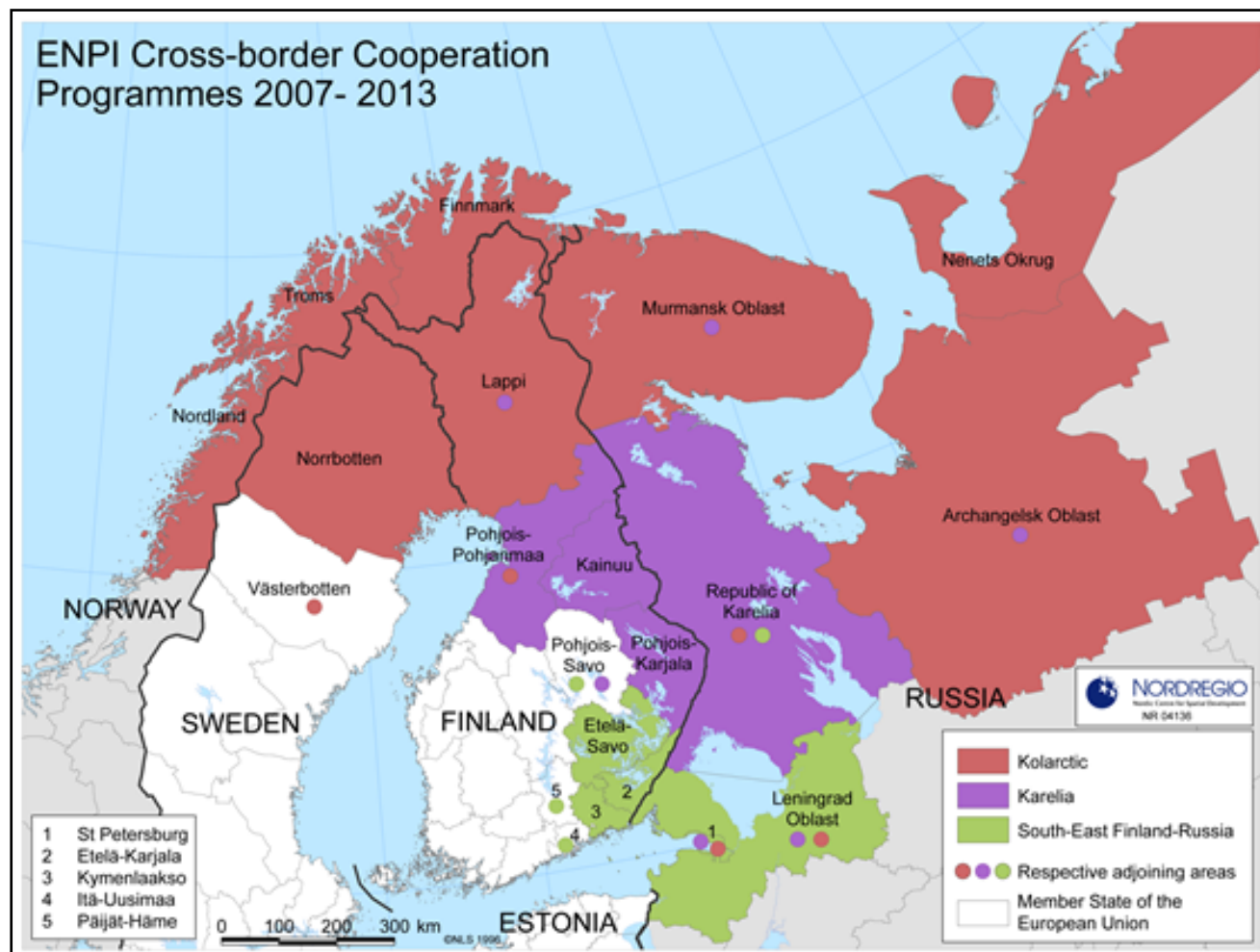
| Programme/ organisation/ forum | Period | Regions/ Countries | Objectives |
|---|--|---|---|
| In the framework of TACIS | From 1990s - till the present time | North-West regions of the Russian Federation and Finland (in particular) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To develop of cross-border cooperation, 2. To help the regions on the EU's internal and external borders 3. To overcome the problems resulting from their isolation |
| Interreg-II- A-Karelia | 1996-1999 | Norden Karelia, Northern Ostrobothnia and Kainuu | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Environmental protection, 2. Support for specialists 3. Entrepreneurs assistance |
| Interreg-III- A-Karelia | 2000-2006 | Kainuu, North Karelia Northern Ostrobothnia The Republic of Karelia | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Modern "baggage business", 2. Mental bridges 3. Everyday border-crossing |
| Euregion Karelia | 2000 - till the present time | the Republic of Karelia and 3 Finnish regional unions – Kainuu, Northern Karelia and Northern Pohjanmaa | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Business Activity 2. Education and Regional Cooperation 3. Transport and communication |
| Northern Dimension (joint policy) | 2000- till the present time | The European Union, Russia, Norway Iceland | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economy, business and infrastructure 2. Human resources, education, culture, scientific research and health 3. The environment, nuclear safety, and natural resources 4. Cross-border cooperation and regional development 5. Justice and home affairs |
| The Nordic Council of Ministers (Forum of intergovernmental cooperation of Nordic countries) | 1995-2015 | Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland. Contact Centres in Arkhangelsk, Murmansk and Petrozavodsk. the Information Office in St. Petersburg. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Competitiveness, 2. Climate, 3. Creativity 4. Coordination |
| The Barents Regional Council (Council) | 1993 – Till the present | Finland: Kainuu, Lapland and Oulu Region Norway: Finnmark, Nordland and Troms | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To improve peoples' living conditions, 2. To encourage sustainable social and economic |

| | | | |
|--|------------------------------|--|---|
| | time | Russia: Arkhangelsk, Karelia, Komi, Murmansk and Nenets. Sweden: Norrbotten and Västerbotten | development 3. To have a peaceful and sustainable development in the northernmost Europe |
| The Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC) (Forum for intergovernmental cooperation in the Barents region) | 1993 – till the present time | Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, European Commission | 1. To develop the region both socially and economically 2. To increase the region's competitiveness in Europe |
| ENPI CBC (Programme) | 2000-till present time | Kainuu, North Karelia, Northern Ostrobothnia and the Republic of Karelia | 1. Economic Development 2. Quality of Life |
| Kolarctic ENPI CBC Programme | 2007-2013 | Finland: Lapland; adjoining areas: Oulu Region Sweden: Norrbotten; adjoining areas: Västerbotten Norway: Finnmark, Troms, Nordland Russia: Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, Nenets; adjoining areas: Republic of Karelia, Leningrad Oblast | 1. to reduce the periphery of the countries' border regions and problems related to the periphery 2. to promote multilateral cross-border cooperation. |

Appendix 2.

The programme area of ENPI CBC¹⁵³

Eligible regions: Finland: Kainuu, Northern Ostrobothnia, North Karelia; adjoining areas: Lapland, Northern Savo. Russia: Republic of Karelia; adjoining areas: Murmansk Oblast, Archangelsk Oblast, Leningrad Oblast and St. Petersburg.



¹⁵³ ENPI CBC 2007-2013 finalized areas

Appendix 3.

Interview Questions

Interview questions posed to the head of the Petrozavodsk branch of the programme Mr. Dmitriy Bazegskiy

- What does the programme promote? How exactly does it contribute to the development of Russian-Finnish cross-border cooperation and to well-being on the programme territory?
- Are institutions and organisations in the Republic of Karelia interested in cross-border cooperation and why?
- Do European standards and values reflect in the programme and particularly in the projects within tourism cooperation?
- Can you argue the programme projects helped to spread the European values and standards? If yes, could you specify them?
- What do you think about Europeanisation of a Russian region through the programme of cross-border cooperation?
- What are your expectations of the future of Euroregion Karelia?

Interview questions posed to the specialists (coordinators and managers) of the tourism projects:

- What do Karelian ENPI CBC programme and your project promote?
- How do they contribute to well-being of the programme area?
- Do you think that the joint projects and particularly yours contribute to long-term cooperation with the Finnish colleges?
- What have you learnt by the experience of your Finnish partners? How do you apply this experience and in which fields?
- What do you understand by the term of “Europeanisation”?
- Do you identify the Republic of Karelia with a European region?
- Do you believe that the EU transfers its norms, values and standards to a Russian region and civil society through the programme of cross-border cooperation?